



# ***Daily Report***

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## **Sub-Saharan Africa**

FBIS-AFR-89-175  
Tuesday  
12 September 1989

# Daily Report

## Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-89-175

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12 September 1989

NOTICE TO READERS: \* indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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## Zaire

### Foreign Minister Announces Angola Mini-Summit

EA1109202089 Kinshasa Domestic Service in French  
0500 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Text] Nonaligned Movement: The 32 member countries of the Nonaligned Movement which met in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, as you know, from 4 to 7 September, within the framework of the (?summit) resolutions on southern Africa and on Angola in particular, gave a special mention to the Gbadolite agreements. They gave their support and expressed their trust in Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko in his capacity as mediator in the negotiations for peace and national reconciliation in Angola, between the Luanda government and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola. This was announced by Citizen Nguz a Karl-I-Bond, state commissioner for foreign affairs, yesterday, on his arrival from Belgrade.

[Words indistinct] the mandate given to Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko by the Angolan brothers and his African peers in this mediation. The state commissioner for foreign affairs also announced the holding in Zaire on next [word indistinct] September of a mini-summit on the issue of peace in southern Africa, and Angola in particular. The summit will be attended by eight African heads of state. The mini-summit, he said, will be chaired by the Zambian head of state, Dr David Kenneth Kaunda, [words indistinct] next (?17) September by a ministerial meeting.

### Military Meeting With Angola Ends in Kinshasa

AB1109165089 Dakar PANA in French 1534 GMT  
11 Sep 89

[Text] Kinshasa, 11 Sep (ANGOP/PANA)—The meeting of Zairian and Angolan military experts, which has just ended in Kinshasa, "is a concretization of one of the most important aspects of relations between the two countries in view of the return of peace to Angola," the Zairian Television Network and Radio (the Voice of Zaire) commented.

The two media stated that the meeting was part of activities of the subcommission responsible for examining the practical conditions that will promote "a climate of peace, security, and trust between the two peoples." According to

the Zairian press, after the reopening of the border between Angola and Zaire, "this meeting is a sign that clearly indicates that the new climate resulting from the Gbadolite agreements is effective."

### \* Measures Proposed To Protect Coffee Exports

34190143a Kinshasa ELIMA in French  
15-16 Jul 89 pp 1, 7

[Text] If all adequate measures are speedily taken, between now and the end of the year Zaire will be able to sell 120,000 of the 180,000 metric tons of exportable coffee still warehoused throughout the country.

That was the upshot of the informational meeting held Thursday by the state agricultural commissioner, citizen Takizal Luyana, for business people in the coffee industry.

The purpose of the meeting was to inform these business people of a series of supportive measures the executive council is proposing to enact to deal with the situation created by the International Coffee Organization's (ICO) decision to suspend the export quota system for 2 years starting 4 July, 1989.

Citizen Takizal announced that the measures would include drawing up a more flexible official list, temporarily suspending certain export taxes, and adopting an aggressive marketing policy for placing Zairian coffee on the European "spot" market.

A committee to monitor the present situation was likewise formed during the session and given the task of preparing for the chief of the Agriculture Department all proposals for the protection of this important sector of the national economy.

The state commissioner had earlier sketched a picture of the current local and international "green gold" market, emphasizing the series of conservation measures already adopted by Brazil, Mexico, and Indonesia, in particular. These measures greatly simplified the procedure for obtaining export visas, eliminated export taxes, and so on.

The meeting closed with a debate among forwarding agents, shipping-company representatives and bankers, in which citizens Nendaka Bika and Endundu Bononge, assistant general presidents of Ozacaf [Zairian Coffee Office] and Ozac [Zairian Control Office], respectively, participated.



## Ethiopia

### Mengistu Says 'War' Continues With Tigray Rebels

EA1109104589 Addis Ababa Domestic Service  
in Amharic 1806 GMT 10 Sep 89

[Speech by Ethiopian President Mengistu Haile Mariam on 10 September on the eve of the new Ethiopian year; place not given—read by announcer]

[Text] The eve of a new year brings a great moment of joy and recollection for any people. This is a time when people take stock of the past year and plan for the new one with a new spirit and will. For the Ethiopian people this is a time when we should reflect on our self-determination within the context of our principles of equality, sovereignty, and better organization in our revolution path.

The heroic Ethiopian people, who have defended themselves against invaders and colonialists through immense sacrifice since time immemorial, have created the basis of popular development over the revolutionary years with similar sacrifices. Today, in this country the equality of nationalities, religions, and the sexes has been secured by law. Similarly, the people have a constitution and a popular republic in which they determine their own affairs. In addition, full popular power is being strengthened and restructured in the autonomous regions and administrative areas.

In the economic and social spheres an atmosphere has been created conducive to the people ridding themselves of the underdevelopment which has held them back for generations. To help in this, further research and studies are being carried out and steps have also been taken to alleviate the problem in specific areas.

On the eve of the new year our people and the Revolutionary Army should reconcile their past achievements with their future plans and programs for development and social welfare.

Although the basic aim of our revolution is to achieve general social progress and a step-by-step improvement in the life of the people, we have made a great sacrifice in blood, life, and property to safeguard the sovereignty and unity of our country during the past years. In this respect, the sacrifice made by our Revolutionary Army with much patience and conscience, will have a special chapter in the centuries' old history of our people's struggle. Our Revolutionary Army has endured many hardships over the past years, not in warmongering, but in defending the motherland from internal and external enemies.

In addition to the sacrifices on various war fronts, we have also made relentless efforts for peace. We are making particularly great efforts in this direction because the international situation has recently been conducive for such moves. In this regard, the new peace initiative adopted by our national Shengo has gained

wide support internally and internationally. Work is under way to implement this new peace initiative.

Nevertheless, the so-called Tigray People's Liberation Front which has been terrorizing people in Tigray, has been trying to sabotage the peace process which is under way. In particular, this group went to war on 31 August, when the national Shengo started its meeting, and the war continued up to yesterday, 9 September. Our Third Revolutionary Army has been fighting bravely to defend against this aggression. Even now, on the eve of the new year, a time of great joy and hope, our heroic Army is fighting for the popular cause entrusted to it. I would like to express my great admiration and respect, on behalf of the Ethiopian people and myself to the Third Revolutionary Army and the Air Force for their sacrifice and heroic action.

I would like to assure you, our revolutionary forces, that the total support of the party and people is with you in your heroic struggle to defend our country on all fronts.

Ethiopia first.

[Signed] Mengistu Haile Mariam, Workers Party of Ethiopia Central Committee general secretary, People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia president, and commander in chief of the Revolutionary Army.

### Tigray Rebels Comment on Peace Talks

EA1109173589 (Clandestine) Voice of the Tigray  
Revolution in Amharic to Ethiopia 0400 GMT 11 Sep 89

["Organizational Statement" from Tigray People's Liberation Front: "Peace is the Result of Tangible Action"; read by announcer]

[Excerpts] It has been repeatedly stated that the Ethiopian people are very much embittered by the war that is going on from all sides. Indeed, since the people are very bitter they are ready for anything which helps to bring peace. [passage omitted]

The Dergue is the one that is declaring war. 'If it honestly believes in peace, it can achieve peace in a short time. War is a tangible action. A comparable peace can only come about through a similar tangible action. [passage omitted].

The Dergue said it was ready to hold face-to-face talks with the Tigray People's Liberation Front [TPLF], whereas in actual fact, final preparations were made for aggression against the TPLF and the Ethiopian People's Democratic Movement [EPDM]. While paying lip service to peace negotiations, in reality it was preparing for an offensive. This truth, which had been reaffirmed by intelligence sources of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front [EPRDF], is fully proven today by the documents of the Dergue which were seized in battle. The EPRDF, not to be outwitted by the Dergue's preparations for an offensive, affirmed and proclaimed its readiness to respond appropriately and to start talks in a short time. At the same time it disclosed

that it would withstand the offensive that was coinciding with the talks, in a sure and fully self-confident way.

At that time the Dergue was saying it was ready to hold talks with the TPLF, yet the completion of its preparation for the offensive was proved in action. Having drafted its campaign for a program of action, called "Sweep," it started implementing it on 26 August 1989.

During the first 3 days, the EPRDF carried out a counteroffensive, called the "Operation Peace in Struggle," to foil the Dergue's "Sweep" campaign. After 10 successive days of fighting, four enemy divisions were destroyed and "Operation Peace in Struggle" achieved its goal and foiled the Dergue's offensive program. As proved by the campaign details in the document seized during the battle in Ch'erch'er on 29 August, the Dergue plan was to move into Ch'erch'er, (Moheni), and (Kukufito) on 26 August to put under control key areas for a subsequent large-scale offensive.

According to the seized document, on page 1 under the title: Target the Objective of the "Sweep" Campaign, it reads: 1.1: to hit once and for all the anti-people forces that are destabilizing the community's healthy life and threatening the unity and revolution of our country from the areas surrounding Ch'erch'er, (Mayat), and (Daga Alga), and especially to free permanently the Ch'erch'er district from the enemy and station there our Armed Forces. 1.2: to create a situation conducive [word indistinct] to expand our compatriots' defense front for a long campaign. It is clearly stated in the plan of campaign what was to be done after establishing control in the planned areas with regard to preparations for the subsequent campaign for the enemy forces which attacked the above listed targets. [passage omitted]

In fact it is naive to expect the war and bloodshed to end until peace talks are held and a tangible peace agreement is reached. Saying that it was ready for talks before starting its offensive—after having said that it will not hold talks with the TPLF—is a deception and a trick that can come only from the Dergue and its kind. [passage omitted]

Jimmy Carter, the former U.S. President whom the Dergue agreed to have as observer in its talks with the Eritrean People's Liberation Front [EPLF], has repeatedly stated that as long as the Dergue agrees, he is ready to mediate between the TPLF and the Dergue. Meanwhile the Dergue is quickly taking steps which betray its desire to take no tangible steps for peace. It is coming daily with the idea of getting a new observer in order to close the door to the started [word indistinct] with an observer. The Dergue government is holding talks after agreement with the EPLF under the auspices of Mr Carter. Mr Carter has said officially that he is ready to act as an observer at talks between the Dergue and the TPLF if the Dergue will agree. The trick of the refusal of the Dergue to negotiate in this way, especially at a time when the TPLF does not want to look for a new observer and waste a lot of time in this matter and when the

Dergue and the EPLF are holding their talks, is clear to anyone. The TPLF has announced that the talks should be started in a short time.

In the past the Dergue used to say in statements that it would not hold talks with the TPLF if it is not with the Eritrean organizations and acted as though this was an obstacle to peace for some time. Now it is changing its color for an anti-peace nature. Officially, it says it is ready to hold talks with the TPLF, but in reality, the Dergue is closing the door on the shortest route chosen, the one it had initiated and is using now. This is becoming the obstacle. By saying that it will not hold talks with the TPLF under the auspices of Mr Carter unless this is done with other Eritrean opposition groups, the Dergue is delaying the peace talks.

In strongly condemning this new trick and anti-peace treachery of the Dergue, the TPLF calls on the other people of Ethiopia to do likewise. [passage omitted]

If the Dergue is not ready to achieve peace through peaceful means, the people, instead of praying, will take a tangible step. This was proved by the anti-Dergue uprising by the Dergue Army in raising the question of peace in May 1989.

Neither the EPRDF nor TPLF has any other belief than this. They will strive to achieve peace through peaceful means with all their ability. Without despairing, they call on the Dergue to hold tangible peaceful negotiations. As long as the Dergue closes the door of peace, they will intensify their struggle in collaboration with all the Ethiopian people and raise the flag of a just permanent peace on the grave of the Dergue.

TPLF Central Committee, 10 September 1989.

#### **Tigray Radio Reports EPRDF Action in Gonder**

*EA1009195889 (Clandestine) Voice of the Tigray Revolution in Amharic to Ethiopia 0400 GMT 10 Sep 89*

[Text] The heroic forces of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front [EPRDF], in continuation of their activities to ensure peace, are thwarting the Workers Party of Ethiopia's [WPE] attempts to prepare for an invasion. It will be recalled that the EPRDF forces wiped out the huge but clumsy WPE forces in the area from Kobo to Maychew and hoisted their peace flag.

The EPDRF forces are, in the same way, destroying the fascist WPE forces in Gonder and on 6 September they defeated the WPE forces moving to (Belesa Arbaya) and from (Wutin) to Mereba. Three units of the 133d Brigade, one unit of the 604th Brigade, and four units of the 33d Brigade were overpowered by our EPRDF forces and fled. In these battles the heroic EPRDF forces killed and wounded a total of 432 soldiers and captured 94. Among the dead were the commander of the 6th Army Brigade, Captain (Tadese), and a Captain (Aberaw), commander of another brigade.

In addition, our heroic forces captured 94 weapons, several bombs, ammunition, (RUT) radio communications equipment, and other military hardware.

#### \* Soviet Union Holds Discussions With Rebels

34000702a Paris *THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER* in English 22 Jul 89 p 4

[Text] The Soviet Union announced publicly on July 13 that a meeting between Issayas Afewerki, Secretary General of the EPLF (Eritrean People's Liberation Front) and Yuri Yakalov, director of the African Department at the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs had taken place at the beginning of July. It is the first direct contact between the EPLF and the Soviet Union since the peace initiative in Addis Ababa. According to Anatoli Adamichine, the Soviet vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs in charge of African Affairs, for whom this meeting is the "first serious contact" with the Eritrean rebels, "the only thing which cannot be negotiated is Ethiopia's territorial indivisibility. 'I think that non-one wants to divide Ethiopia or divide Eritrea. No-one wants to set such a precedent,'" he said. His statements which are hardly surprising as regards Ethiopia's territorial integrity, seem to indicate that any division of Eritrea according to religious criteria, envisaged by Addis Ababa, has no support in Moscow. The EPLF, with three Soviet military advisors captured during the taking of Afabet in March 1988, had always demanded since then, to discuss the conditions for their liberation directly with Moscow. As for the opening of negotiations, last week, it was rumoured that Ethiopia would accept that Egypt assume the role of observer during the talks. Meanwhile, in the field, no fighting has been reported since May. In Tigray however, there were clashes on July 14 between the TPLF (Tigrayan People's Liberation Front) and government soldiers in Korem region.

### Kenya

#### \* Church-State Relations Still Pose Problems

34000701c Nairobi *THE WEEKLY REVIEW* in English 14 Jul 89 pp 16-17

[Text] The Catholic Church in Kenya, which next year commemorates its centenary locally, last week issued a controversial pastoral letter stating, as usual, its position on moral and social issues of the day. Last week's letter, which was read out to the press by Bishop Silas Njiru of the Meru diocese, who is also the chairman of the Centenary Celebrations Committee, appears to have occasioned much official irritation. Its theme, which focusses on justice, is that the gap between the rich and the poor, between the powerful and the powerless, is widely while "injustice is growing". The letter goes on to decry "structures of sin caused by widespread materialism, individualism, idolatry of money and power which are affecting our nation." It encourages lay Christians to commit themselves in the "wide and complex arena of politics, sociology and economics" which it says

are their special fields of evangelisation so as to be the "salt of the earth". The letter also said that "this pressing call to action on behalf of justice and participation in the transformation of the world fully appears to us as a constitutive dimension of the preaching of the gospel."

The ink was hardly dry on the document before several politicians, not unexpectedly, complained. Mr Maina Wanjigi, the minister of agriculture, was particularly vehement. Speaking during the official opening of the Kisii Agricultural Society of Kenya (ASK) show the following day, Wanjigi termed the Catholic church's statement as "unfortunate, wrong and nonsense, saying that the facts and figures the bishops had based their arguments on were out-of-date and that Kenya had a pragmatic programme worth emulating. Even President Daniel arap Moi, who officiated at the show's opening, appeared also to be reacting to the pastoral letter when he chided those whom he said were quick to criticise yet turned a blind eye to the country's achievements since independence. "We cannot boast we are angels but it is important to give credit where it is due," the president said, citing the education and agricultural sectors as examples where great strides had been made especially in parts of the country that had been neglected during colonial times. The combative Mombasa Kanu chairman, Mr Shariff Nassir, who is an assistant minister for information and broadcasting, was not amused either. In parliament the same day, Nassir castigated the bishops for being critical "without offering solutions." He denied that the gap between the poor and the rich was alarming, and went to the extent of challenging the bishops to pay a visit to Bombay, India, presumably to witness the indubitably bad conditions there. Then in an odd turn of phrase, Nassir declared that churches should be in the forefront of spreading the message of population control by urging their flock to desist from having too many children. The Catholic Church in Kenya, as elsewhere in the world, is well-known for its sensitivity to birth control.

The pastoral letter dwelt at length on other issues besides the injustice and poverty which political critics pinpointed as being especially objectionable. The bishops had also looked at other relatively non-controversial things such as the family unit, the "moral crisis" in youth, ethics, traditional values, and related subjects. But it was what they had to say about injustice and poverty, and their open belief that the current Kenyan set-up is indifferent to those, which critics such as Nassir could not stomach.

The harsh reaction to the bishops' letter, may appear to be somewhat out of context, especially to those familiar with the Catholic Church's character and its collective style of doing things. It looks as if the contentious pastoral letter is no more than the local follow-up to a recent global call by Pope John Paul II on the same themes of justice, equality and equitable distribution of resources that he issued worldwide as a Papal Encyclical. The influential United States bishops have also followed up this with a not dissimilar pastoral letter addressed to



their government and to the World Bank, urging more concern for the world's poor. Such pastoral letters are usually bland, ponderous documents that address issues in generalities and often go unremarked by officialdom the world over, unlike the case last week in Kenya. In fact the Kenya bishops' pastoral letter of April 1988, entitled "Justice and Peace"—Bishop Njiru says that the current one is a follow-up of that—passed through with nary a murmur beyond the confines of the Kenya Catholic Secretariat. But pastoral letters sometimes grate on officialdom. In 1986 the U.S. government reacted testily to a demand by American bishops for a freeze in nuclear weapons manufacture. In Kenya, a 1983 pastoral letter issued just prior to the general elections of that year, detailing the qualities and moral character Kenyans should look for in their leaders, was deemed unacceptable by many politicians. But by and large, the Catholic Church in Kenya leads a low-keyed existence which the authorities find happily agreeable, especially when, in recent years, clerics from other Christian denominations such as the Anglicans and the Presbyterians, have been critical of political and constitutional trends in Kenya. The head of the Catholic Church in Kenya, Maurice Cardinal Otunga, is a publicity-shy, even-tempered prelate whose only memorable tussle with the authorities was in 1985 when, in a rare show of public anger, he censured the government for sanctioning pilot sterilisation clinics sponsored by the Lions Club in parts of Nairobi and Kiambu. The clinics were abruptly discontinued after the cardinal's objections. The only Catholic bishop with a reputation for speaking his mind against the system on matters touching on politics is the bishop of Nakuru diocese, Ndingi Mwana a 'Nzeki, a clear maverick who sticks out like a sore thumb in the staid and conservative Kenya Episcopate, which groups all Kenyan Catholic bishops. But even he looks mild compared to such fire-breathing prelates at the controversial Anglican bishop, David Gitari, or the equally controversial Presbyterian, Timothy Njoya.

The Catholic Church's reputation for being non-controversial has repeatedly earned the church loud plaudits from a wide cross-section of politicians who see the church as a more comfortable contrast to the other, often "unruly", denominations. When Gitari was being censured by Kirinyaga politicians early this year, Mr Joseph Kamotho, the minister for transport and communications, singled out the Catholic church for praise for "keeping out of politics" and for "supporting" the government. Earlier, President Moi himself lauded the Catholic Church in general for steering through a "proper" path and cardinal Otunga specifically as a prelate worth emulating.

Officially the Catholic Church is careful not to endorse the keep-politics-out-of-the-pulpit viewpoint, though its highly ossified nature and its strict procedure of consensus tends to rule out the highly individualised positions tolerated by other denominations where clerics such as Gitari and Njoya belong. It is inconceivable that something like the recently-enacted Katakwa controversy played out within the Anglican fraternity could

ever occur within the rigid Catholic machinery. But despite its rigid rituals, the Catholic Church does sometimes speak out on sensitive matters, though it prefers to approach them on the level of issues and policies and avoids taking any stand that can be interpreted as personalised. In November 1986, the Catholic bishops presented to President Moi a lengthy and critical memorandum that, amongst other things complained about the adoption of the queue-voting system in elections and the pace of controversial constitutional amendments. It also voiced displeasure with the manager of Kanu's growing stature vis a vis parliament, saying that the party was already beginning to acquire an "authoritarian" look. But such outspokenness is rare from the Catholic Church, and the memorandum in question was tame compared to the strenuous objections the other denominations registered against queue-voting.

The Catholic Church's reticence on public issues is something of an irony since it is the largest and most entrenched denomination in the country, with over five million baptised Kenyans who it officially claims for itself. Perhaps this evident strength urges on it a sense of responsibility and restraint. This self-effacing posture can be quite irritating to others, as was demonstrated by Gitari at the time he was being roasted by Kirinyaga politicians when he pleaded with the Catholic hierarchy to unite with other churches in condemning "injustice." The Catholic Church maintained a studied silence throughout Gitari's ordeal. True to form, it has not bothered to reply to the criticism its latest pastoral letter has engendered. All that is now absorbing it is the preparations for the big event—the centenary celebrations that kick-off on August 13 in Nairobi and climax in Mombasa on August 14 next year. The only regrets within the church's hierarchy is that the Pope, who was expected to attend the occasion next year, has already announced he will not be able to do so due to what the Vatican says are "pressing commitments."

#### \* Trade Improvements With Ethiopia Analyzed

34000701b Nairobi KENYA TIMES  
in English 18 Jul 89 p 9

[Text] The Port of Mombasa will handle part of Ethiopia's exports and imports now that road communication between the two countries has been improved.

The general manager in charge of finance, Mr Leonard J. Mwangola, said this yesterday at the port. He said Eldoret, Malava and Kisumu had been targeted for the construction of new inland container depots within the next ten years to supplement the main one at Nairobi so as to ease transportation and storage problems.

Mr Mwangola was welcoming the newly appointed Kenya's High Commissioner to Tanzania, Mr Dickson Ireri Kathambana, who was on a familiarisation tour of the Port of Mombasa before taking office in Dar es Salaam.

Mr Mwangola said the port was capable of handling 20 million tonnes which he noted was not yet fully realised.

He said the 18 deep water berths, two of them specially constructed for container handling, were adequate to serve Kenya and her neighbours needs.

He informed the new High Commissioner that apart from serving the landlocked countries in East and Central Africa, Mombasa also served the northern part of Tanzania because of the proximity of the port in relation to Dar es Salaam Harbour.

For future expansion, Mr Mwangola observed, the Kenya Ports Authority (KPA) had acquired adequate land in Mombasa and Lamu.

Apart from the modern services offered at the Port of Mombasa, the KPA conducts port operations at the Mombasa old port which has been catering for the dhow traffic since the 13th Century between Kenya and the Middle-East. Other ports on the Kenya coastline handling smaller consignments were located at Kiunga, Lamu, Malindi, Kilifi and Shimoni.

Mr Kathambana noted that the relations between Tanzania and Kenya were inevitably linked by history and promised to improve them at all levels.

#### \* France Becomes 'Major' Trading Partner

34000701a Nairobi KENYA TIMES  
in English 14 Jul 89 p 13

[Text] Over the past few years France has become a major trade partner of Kenya as well as one of her most important aid donors.

Whereas the volume of trade between both countries stood in 1985 at a level of 747.6 million Francs it reached 3 years later in 1988, 1.079 billion Francs (an increase of more than 44 percent) i.e. roughly 3.3 billion Ksh (1 FRF=3.1 Ksh) with a peak of 1.683 billion Ksh in 1986 in connection with the purchase of 2 Airbus by Kenya Airways.

**Kenya—France Trade**  
(in million Francs)

	1985	1986	1987	1988
Total	748.6	1,682.2	1,038.4	1,079.1
Exports	455.6	1,418.6	803.5	817.9
Imports	292	263.6	234.9	261.2
Balance	162.6	1,155	568.6	576.7

French exports mainly consist of capital goods (electronics, mechanical and electrical equipments), cars and automotive equipment, spare parts, and also chemical products and various semi products. On the other hand, Kenya achieved a breakthrough on the French market on canned fruits and vegetables, fresh vegetables, coffee and tropical fruits. After a certain decline in 1986 and 1987, Kenyan sales to France are again on an upward trend. As a matter of fact, the trade imbalance is not as

extensive as shown by the figures of the table above. If aid financed equipment is put aside, one gets the picture of a brisk day to day trade corresponding on each side of very dynamic sectors of the respective economies. Nevertheless, the impact of big development projects financed by the French authorities is of some importance on the balance of trade.

Since 1976, Kenya and France have signed 9 financial protocols totalling 2.6 billion French Francs concentrated on priority sectors of development: harbours, railways, telecommunications, civil aviation, water supply, power supply, meteorology, airports. The latest agreement signed in April 1989 on the occasion of the visit to Kenya of the French Prime Minister Michel Rocard, envisages two projects aiming on the one hand at the improvement of the efficiency and security of the operations of the two main Kenyan airports, on the other hand at a betterment of air navigation.

In all these fields, the co-operation proved smooth and effective, opening new avenues for expansion to the mutual benefit of the two countries.

Last but not least, the French Investments contribute to a sizeable extent to the development of Kenya in sectors as different as banking, transport, oil industry, chemicals, agriculture, etc. It is worth noting that since long the total amount of French investments have been regularly on the increase with constant positive flows every year, a manner testifying the confidence in the relations between the two countries. In consideration of this very favourable context ties of France with Kenya are destined for strengthening further. This might be the case in the domains in which France has acquired expertise valuable to Kenya as for example the processing of agricultural products, an area where co-operation agreements involving the marketing of the Kenyan goods could be envisaged.

#### Somalia

##### Minister Concedes War Disrupts Economy

AB1109163089 Paris AFP in English 1324 GMT  
11 Sep 89

[By Veronica Forwood]

[Text] Mogadishu, Sept 11 (AFP)—War in the north of Somalia between government forces and the rebel Somali National Movement (SNM) has dealt a double blow to Somalia's tottering economy.

Not only is the civil conflict, which erupted in May last year, a drain on the country's limited resources, but the near-total disruption of normal life in the north has all but closed the Port of Berbera, in the Gulf of Aden, through which the Horn of Africa country normally transits its traditional major export, livestock.

Independent analysts say exports of livestock last year were worth 59 million dollars, well down on the 90 million dollars of previous years.

In a good year Somalia hopes to export some 200,000 head of cattle, but is currently doing no better than around 50,000. Finance Minister Mohamed Sheikh Osman said.

The minister conceded that the war had disrupted the economy but said that livestock exports, which constitute up to 70 per cent of total exports, had moreover never fully recovered from a ban slapped on by Saudi Arabia because of rinderpest during 1982-1985.

He rejected charges by some observers here that the economy is a "disaster" although he conceded that Somalia "does have some very serious problems."

He said an International Monetary Fund (IMF)-recommended programme of tightening budget control and credit ceiling and reducing the money supply was beginning to work well. Inflation, currently running at around 100 percent annually is coming down.

The government projects that inflation will have fallen to 42 percent by the end of 1989, a failure which most independent analysts consider optimistic, although they agree it is falling.

One foreign analyst said that the Somali Government was doing well in sticking to the IMF programme but that its capacity to do so would be heavily dependent on donors continuing to plug a 300 million dollar annual foreign exchange gap.

Former colonial power Italy is economically involved in the country to the tune of around 400 million dollars a year.

But some donors have been holding off because of unpaid arrears while others, such as the United States, have cut balance of payments support in protest at human rights violations, particularly in the repression of July 14 riots in which officially 32 died but which opposition sources say killed 1,500.

Washington has already cut 21 million dollars in balance of payments support due for last year and has suspended a further 15 million dollars for this year, waiting to see if there is any improvement in the human rights situation.

Somalia is also saddled with a massive debt burden, which even after major debt rescheduling by the Paris Club, requires repayments of 100 million dollars a year, considerably more than its entire export income of not much more than 50 million dollars this year.

After a catastrophic decision to revalue the currency back in September 1987 which priced Somali exports out of the market, the Mogadishu government has engaged in successive devaluations with the effect that the shilling which stood at fewer than 100 to the dollar last year now stands at 544 to the dollar.

Somalia continues to suffer from the fact that a large part of its economic activity takes place in the informal sector. The finance minister agreed that this part of the economy was "substantial," but he put it at less than 50 per cent of the total.

Hides and skins, the next most import export after bananas, are said to be a growing industry but analysts say much of the revenue is lost through smuggling.

With a per capita gross domestic product of 300 U.S. dollars, Somalia is one of the poorest countries in the world, but Mr. Osman said: "We have poor people, yes, but not to the extent that people are dying of hunger."

#### \* Violence Continues To Plague Capital City

34000702h Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN  
NEWSLETTER in English 22 Jul 89 p 5

[Text] According to reliable sources, 32 people are reported to have been killed and 64 injured, most of them seriously and eight of them policemen in violent clashes which broke out on July 14 in Mogadishu between demonstrators and security forces. Some injured people have been hidden by their families for fear that, as opponents, they would have been liquidated once inside the hospitals. The figures released by the Minister of the Interior on July 16, that is, 24 dead and 60 wounded, was an underestimation. The Somali National Movement (SNM) issued what seem to be highly exaggerated figures of 1,500 dead and 2,500 wounded.

The demonstrations were sparked off by the arrest of Cheik Abdurahman Ali Soufi on July 13 just after he had delivered an inflammatory speech against the government on Aid day calling for "a holy war". Other Imams have since been arrested, notably Ali Ibrahim and Ali Yussuf. They were all trained either in Saudi Arabia or at Al-Azhar university in Egypt. The rioters were armed with knives and sticks but some were also carrying fire arms. Among the first victims were a colonel in the police force and one of the President's top security men who were hacked to death by wild demonstrators. Last week's arrest of about twenty politicians, including the son of Somalia's first President, Aden Abdulle Osman and Ismael el-Jimale were not related in any way to the arrests of the religious personalities, who formed two distinct pressure groups. These politicians who were detained are alleged to be connected with the members of the Marehan clan who delivered an ultimatum to Somalia's leader last month, apparently given the mandate to carry out the task by people belonging to different Somali clans. These Marehans had taken the initiative in delivering the ultimatum, being protected from immediate arrest due to their belonging to the same clan as the President himself. However, today it is said that some of them have received threats.

Although it appears that calm has been restored to Mogadishu since July 15, it is a most precarious calm and a further eruption of violence can be expected if President Mohamed Siad Barre does not consent to

make political concessions immediately to resolve the current crisis which could end in another, bigger blood bath. For several months now, and especially since the rapprochement between Somalia and Libya which has become the Somali army's main supply source for arms in the last year, conservative Somali Muslim circles seem to be strongly encouraged by certain milieux in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates, to become more organised and to put pressure on Mohamed Said Barre's regime, at a time when shortages of basic supplies in Mogadishu have become more acute than ever.

According to our information, SRSP [Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party]'s Politburo was convened on July 18 once again and its efforts may lead to a further extraordinary session of the Party's central committee. Last month, it postponed the project to put an end to the one-party system and alter the Constitution, reforms which President Mohamed Said Barre was forced to put to the Party under pressure from the aforementioned Marehans. They are reported to have sent a new ultimatum to the Somali leader.

## Uganda

### Cooperation Meeting With Sudan Ends

EA0909181989 Kampala Domestic Service in English  
1000 GMT 9 Sep 89

[Text] Uganda and the Sudan have agreed to extend a barter trade protocol for a period of 2 years.

A joint communique, issued in Kampala yesterday evening at the end of the third meeting of the Uganda-Sudan permanent ministerial commission of cooperation, said the two sides agreed to speed up the necessary measures to give effect to the existing customs cooperation agreement. The meeting discussed a wide range of bilateral issues covering customs cooperation, cultural cooperation, control and eradication of human and animal diseases along the common border, refugees, trade, and transport and communications.

On cooperation in the field of sciences, the two sides reiterated their commitment towards the eradication of human and animal diseases along the common border and directed the technocrats in this field to meet within a period of 2 months, to work out modalities for cooperation.

On refugees, the two sides noted with satisfaction that the joint repatriation exercise of Ugandan refugees in the Sudan has been successfully carried out, and that there are no more Ugandan refugees in the Sudan. The two sides further noted that Sudanese refugees in Uganda had been resettled 50 miles or more from the common border, which is in line with the previous recommendations of the joint commission.

On security, both sides emphasized the need to have periodic meetings, as well as an effective follow-up

mechanism, to ensure that important recommendations made by both sides are implemented.

On transport and communications, the two sides emphasized the importance of transport in promoting trade and development in the two countries, but regretted that the state of insecurity along the common border had hampered cooperation in this sector. The two sides, however, reiterated the need to adopt a joint approach in the improvement and development of transport and communication infrastructure, with emphasis on the railways.

On cultural cooperation, the two sides agreed on the modalities of promoting cooperation in culture, sports, education, and youth programs.

The joint communique was signed by the leader of the Ugandan delegation and minister of internal affairs, Mr Ibrahim Mukiibi, and his Sudanese counterpart, Brigadier Faysal Ali Abu Salih.

In his closing remarks, Mr Mukiibi expressed sincere satisfaction and happiness on the successful conclusion of the meeting, which was held in a cordial and brotherly atmosphere characteristic of the strong bonds of friendship existing between the two countries. He stressed the importance of the commission in concretizing the already existing relationship between the two countries. Mr Mukiibi said that both Uganda and the Sudan are bound by history and culture to see that the two countries fight backwardness and catch up with other countries in the world. The minister stressed that it is important that their resources are exploited for future development and to strengthen the South-to-South cooperation.

He assured the Sudanese delegation of the NRM [National Resistance Movement] Government's commitment to see that the two countries continue to live in brotherhood and permanent peace. In reply the Sudanese minister of interior and member of the National Transitional Revolutionary Command Council, Brig Ali Abu Salih, expressed gratitude to the Ugandan Government for the warm reception and hospitality accorded to him during their stay in the country.

During their stay in Kampala, the Sudanese delegation was received by President Yoweri Museveni. The Ugandan delegation, which was led by the minister of internal affairs, Mr Ibrahim Mukiibi, included the ministers of culture, youth, and sports, Brigadier Moses Ali; the minister of state for foreign and regional affairs, Mr Omara Azeb; the deputy minister of commerce in charge of barter trade, Mr Charles Alai; and of commerce, Mr Israel Kayonde. The Sudanese delegation included the governor of Equatoria Region, Major General (Allison Masani Magaya).

### \* Guerrillas Step Up Attacks in Eastern District

34000599c Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN  
NEWSLETTER in English 19 Jul 89 pp 1, 14

[Article: "More Rebel Camps in Eastern Uganda"]

[Text] More rebel camps, from where anti-NRM [National Resistance Movement] forces launch their



operations against government troops, RC [Resistance Committee]s and local residents, are reported to be springing up in Eastern Uganda.

The camps are reported to harbour rebels originating from Teso who have recently extended their area of operation to include Mbale and Tororo districts where in recent incidents they attacked Agule Apopong and Kameke subcounties in Pallisa Sub District, Tororo district.

According to the "Wanainchi" of the affected areas, the rebels have established their camps on the Lake Kioga islands of Nyasala and Omayita from where they have terrorised Agule, Apopong and parts of L. Kamenge, stealing livestock, abducting women and children, grabbing food items and destroying property.

The latest discovery of more rebel bases follows very ugly skirmishes in Soroti and Kumi districts between NRA [National Resistance Army] and UPA [Uganda People's Alliance] rebels. Recently, an SRC [National Resistance Council], member from Kapelchyons escaped death narrowly when a bus in which he was travelling was ambushed by rebels. Several people died.

It was also reported that an NRA amphibious tank which was pursuing rebels in Teso sank in a swamp and some soldiers in it were drowned. More camps spring up as quickly as they are discovered and destroyed.

The Chiefs and RCs of the devastated sub-counties whom THE GUIDE correspondent talked to were shedding tears as they narrated the ordeal unleashed on them by the lake-based rebels whose numbers, and morale had

been boosted by defecting NRA soldiers, residents disclosed. Nyasala and Omayita islands lie not too far away in Lake Kyoga, they said.

The Pallisa A.D.E.S. Mr Simon Kimono disclosed that following the peoples' outcry, the authorities had apprehended a rebel recce (spy) identified as Peter Otwal said to hail from Kanyangeni, Kateta sub-county of Serere county Soroti district.

The rebel agent said Kimono was also accused of taking illicit Waragi (enguli) to rebels and is now helping the authorities with investigations.

Because of the fresh outbreak of rebel incursions in Mbale and Tororo Mr Kimono disclosed, fishing in Lake Kiyoga had become too dangerous and the authorities had suspended it in areas where the camps have been located.

In a related incident a combined force of NRA, LDF and RCs in Mbale destroyed a camp of armed gangsters of Namatala village Timber Yard Rice Factory Mbale district.

According to the RC secretary for Defence of the area Mr Richard Mitala, the combined force overran the gangster's camp after an exchange of fire. The force under the command of 2nd Lt. Omongin Mohammad of NRA military police captured two gunmen named Mushebi and Hussein Mafabi.

In the excitement that followed this victory, the civilian members of the force and the mob that participated dragged Mafabi from the army and meted out to him mob justice. He died later in the cells.



**'Terrorists' From Zimbabwe Attack Farm, Flee**

*MB1109160389 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1542 GMT 11 Sep 89*

[Text] Pretoria Sept 11 SAPA—The farmhouse of Mr J. Erasmus, 50km west of Beit Bridge in the Weibe area, far northern Transvaal, was attacked in the early hours of this morning by terrorists who infiltrated from Zimbabwe, a spokesman for the SA [South African] Defence Force told SAPA this evening.

"Small arms" fired at the house caused only slight damage and no injuries.

The alleged terrorists left seven RPG-7 rockets, one RGD5 handgrenade, one F-1 handgrenade, an AK-47 magazine and numerous empty cartridge cases on the scene. They fled back across the border to Zimbabwe after the attack, the spokesman said.

The Department of Foreign Affairs has been asked to take the matter up through diplomatic channels.

**Trade Mission To Protest**

*MB1209073489 Johannesburg Domestic Service  
in English 0500 GMT 12 Sep 89*

[Text] The Department of Foreign Affairs says the South African trade mission in Harare is to take up with the Zimbabwean Government yesterday morning's attack on a farmhouse in the Vapour district in the far northern Transvaal.

No one was injured in the attack in which small arms were used, and the farmhouse was only slightly damaged. Defense headquarters in Pretoria announced earlier that the attack had been carried out by terrorists who infiltrated South Africa from Zimbabwe. They fled back across the border after the attack, leaving a quantity of arms at the scene.

**Tutu Asks Diplomats To Monitor March 13 Sep**

*MB1109193289 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1928 GMT 11 Sep 89*

[Text] Cape Town Sept 11 SAPA—Six ambassadors and nine other diplomats were asked during a meeting with Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak today to monitor Wednesday's [13 Sept] protest march by, among others, the newly-installed mayor of Cape Town.

Twelve countries were represented at the hour-long meeting at Bishopscourt, home of the archbishop, who confirmed at a subsequent press conference that the diplomats were asked to monitor the march.

"We did not ask them to participate. We asked them to be present and monitor...they'll be there," he said.

The archbishop also announced that the march—to protest against the deaths last week of at least 15 people on election night—would go to the City Hall rather than Parliament, as originally planned.

"We will not give any credibility to a Parliament that represents such a minuscule percentage of our country," he said.

Asked about the different versions over the actual number of deaths on that night—Dr Boesak has claimed there were 23 fatalities, while the police say there were 15—the archbishop said: "It really doesn't matter anymore. They have already killed our people." He added he had been told the death toll has gone up to 29.

"It does not matter whether it's 30 or 15. Fifteen is a massacre, especially when we warned them. Even if we dealt only with their figures it's a scandal," he said.

He said the march would be disciplined and peaceful. "(We) do not want the funerals...to be the cause of more funerals."

The decision by the mayor of Cape Town, Mr Gordon Oliver, to join the march was described as "wonderful" by the archbishop, who said this could be "a tremendous breakthrough in terms of race relations in the city".

Diplomatic representatives from the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Portugal, Spain, Australia, France, West Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden attended the meeting.

Other calls made by the two religious leaders included the release of detainees; an "uncategorical condemnation" of action by the security forces; the withdrawal of security forces from townships; the unbanning of political organisations; the end of the state of emergency; and the scrapping of apartheid laws, especially the "four pillars of apartheid".

The diplomats were also asked to take up with their governments the issue of increased media harassment.

**Boesak Maintains 23 Killed in Cape Unrest**

*MB1109110889 Johannesburg Television Service  
in Afrikaans 0430 GMT 11 Sep 89*

[Text] The president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Dr Allan Boesak, says he maintains his total of the number of people killed on election day during unrest in the western Cape.

Dr Boesak reacted to an appeal by the western Cape police to get in touch with them concerning their investigation of the unrest. The police said yesterday that they experienced difficulty in contacting Dr Boesak to obtain proof of the number of people who according to him were killed in the unrest, people about whom the police were unaware.

Dr Boesak and Archbishop Desmond Tutu put the death toll at 23. The police say they have only tracked down the bodies of 15 victims, of whom 10 probably died in faction fighting.

According to SAPA, Dr Boesak said he finds it strange that the police do not know where to contact him although they do know where to find him when they want to search his home.

**Democrats Say Cape Town Violence 'Serious'**

*MB1109165089 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1618 GMT 11 Sep 89*

[Text] Cape Town Sept 11 SAPA—The Democratic Party [DP] is to take steps to have the violence which has developed recently in the greater Cape Town area discussed as a matter of urgency during the coming short session of Parliament, the DP caucus said in a statement today.

The statement said the caucus considered the "serious situation" in the area when it met in Cape Town today.

It was also announced today that a number of DP MPs will tomorrow take part in a fact-finding tour of those areas which have been hit by violence.

**State Security Council To Meet, Discuss Unrest**

*MB1109104589 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1022 GMT 11 Sep 89*

[Text] Cape Town Sept 11 SAPA—The minister of law and order, Mr Adriaan Vlok confirmed the meeting of the State Security Council in Cape Town, and said that he would attend, but was not prepared to discuss the agenda.

According to news reports the council would consider the recent unrest in the peninsula as well as the recent criticism of Lt Gregory Rockman of the riot police.

Local police liaison officer Captain Hendrik Opperman could not confirm whether Mr Vlok would be having a meeting with Lt Rockman today. He said as far as he was aware no such meeting was planned for today.

**Police Hold, Release Democratic Future Official**

*MB1109105489 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1048 GMT 11 Sep 89*

[By Neil Lewis]

[Text] Johannesburg Sep 11 SAPA—The co-ordinator of the proposed Conference for a Democratic Future, Mr Haroon Patel, was briefly held by security police this afternoon, shortly before he was due to announce a major demonstration by the Black Consciousness Movement.

Sources told SAPA that four security policemen detained Mr Patel when he attempted to enter a building in Commissioner Street.

Mr Patel was escorted to a vehicle which sped in the direction of John Vorster Square.

He was released at about 12.35pm.

Mr Patel was last month named co-ordinator of the planned conference—the first major anti-apartheid meeting aimed at bringing together people of all political persuasions.

A press conference to announce the demonstration is currently underway.

**Democrats Choose De Beer as Parliamentary Leader**

*MB1109152889 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1524 GMT 11 Sep 89*

[Text] Cape Town Sept 11 SAPA—Dr Zach de Beer was today asked by the Democratic Party [DP] caucus to stay on as parliamentary leader of the DP until a national congress reviews the party's leadership structure next month.

Mr Colin Eglin, the MP for Sea Point, who was elected chairman of the caucus when it met in Cape Town today, said this in a statement.

He said Mr Harry Schwarz, MP for Yeoville, was elected vice-chairman of caucus; Mr Dave Dalling (Sandton), chief whip; Mr Roger Burrows (Pinetown), assistant chief whip; and Mr Peter Soal (Johannesburg North) and Mr Jannie Momberg (Simonstown), whips.

The caucus also nominated Mr Andre de Wet of East London and Mr David Gant, the DP candidate in Helderberg, as indirectly elected members of Parliament.

**New State President To Be Sworn in 20 Sep**

*MB1109135589 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1341 GMT 11 Sep 89*

[Text] Pretoria Sept 11 SAPA—The new state president will be sworn in on September 20, the Bureau of Information announced today on behalf of the office of the State President.

A statement from the bureau said:

"The state president will be sworn in at 10am on September 20, 1989 in the NG [Dutch Reformed] church, Universiteitsoord, Pretoria. After the swearing in the state president will, at about 11.30am, move to the amphitheatre of the Union Building, where his first public appearance will take place."

**PAC Rejects Negotiations With Government**

*MB1109111889 Johannesburg THE STAR in English  
11 Sep 89 p 2*

[Text] Harare—The Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) has reiterated that it rejects negotiations with the South African Government and is prepared to carry on fighting alone.

PAC's president, Mr Zephania Mothopeng, issued a statement in Harare yesterday in response to the decision by the Non Aligned Movement to adopt an ANC [African National Congress] document on negotiations which last month had already been approved by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) ad-hoc committee on southern Africa.

The approval of the document by the OAU was seen by many analysts as a diplomatic victory for the ANC since the OAU ignored the PAC's position on the matter.

"We of the PAC declare here and now that at the moment we reject negotiations absolutely. We further declare that we are not party to the so called negotiation document as presented to the Non Aligned Movement," Mr Mothopeng said.

The document allowed for negotiations with "the oppressor."

"Those who want to negotiate with the oppressor have the right to do so," he said adding that his movement would continue "to do our own thing irrespective of negotiations or no negotiations."

The ANC document said negotiations with the Government could start once the government released all political prisoners and detainees unconditionally, lifted all bans and restrictions on all proscribed and restricted organisations and persons, removed all troops from the townships, ended the state of emergency, repealed all legislation designed to stop political activities and ceased all "political trials and executions."

#### **ANC Detains Military Commander in 'Clean-up'**

*MB1209103489 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY  
in English 12 Sep 89 p 2*

[By Ian Hobbs]

[Text] London—The ANC [African National Congress] has detained one of its most powerful military commanders in a continuing drastic purge of "wrong-doers" and suspected Pretoria spies, according to the respected journal AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL.

The on-going clean-up of the ANC is reported to be part of its "diplomatic initiative," master-minded by its foreign secretary Thabo Mbeki, to gain credibility with the West, particularly British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, in advance of the Commonwealth heads of government meeting. The meeting is opening in Malaysia next week.

The journal said Thami Zulu, who rose from head of Natal operations to Swaziland-Mozambique front commander, had been detained with other ranking officers and some had "confessed to being agents of Pretoria." The report claimed investigations had also been opened into serious financial discrepancies that were embarrassing the ANC.

The journal said Zulu's detention followed the "suicide" last year of the ANC's Natal Military Command operations chief Comrade Cyril, after he confessed last year that he was a double-agent working for Pretoria.

Following Cyril's exposure and death, ANC security units, led by Iscor Chikane and Joe Nhlanhla, conducted the investigation of the entire operation of the Swaziland-Mozambique front that led to the new detentions.

Thami Zulu had chaired key ANC central committee meetings and had been in line to become chief of staff of the military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation].

The journal said many in the ANC could not believe Thami Zulu was an "enemy agent." They said he had, however, lost his dynamism and turned a blind eye to the activities of his deputy, Comrade Cyril, and his clique and attempted to shield them from investigation.

The reported detention of Zulu corresponded with the increasing isolation of military extremists from central power in the ANC, notably SACP [South African Communist Party] hardliners and Umkhonto chief-of-staff Chris Hani who had advocated attacks on soft targets.

AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL said financial investigations centred on \$250,000 missing from treasury funds and the failure of the ANC's New York office to account for R337,000 raised in the USA.

It said financial scandals were rarer in the ANC than they were in Pretoria, but the issue had placed pressure on the "unpopular" ANC treasurer-general, Thomas Nkobi.

An ANC spokesman said yesterday they would comment after headquarters in Lusaka had had a chance to read the article.

#### **Radio Commentary on Namibian Elections**

*MB1109172489 Johannesburg International Service  
in English 1500 GMT 11 Sep 89*

[Station Commentary: "The Elections in Namibia"]

[Text] Another milestone in the independence process in Namibia will be reached on Friday [15 Sep], when voter registration lists will close. Already 96 percent of the estimated number of 677,000 eligible voters have been registered. This is a remarkable achievement, given the sparsely populated nature of this large territory.

Despite this achievement, SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] wants the deadline for registration to be extended. This is yet another deplorable act of obstructionism on the part of SWAPO. SWAPO's strategy is clearly to obstruct the smooth—and peaceful—implementation of independence in the forlorn hope that it can seize power through armed force. SWAPO's obstruction tactics reached their low point in

April, when it launched an armed invasion of Namibia. Since then there have been numerous reports of SWAPO intimidation and violence.

The implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 for Namibian independence is now in its 6th month. The long-awaited elections are only 8 weeks away. The road to independence has been constructed painstakingly over these 6 months by the South Africans and South-West African authorities, in cooperation with the United Nations' special representative.

The successful voter registration involving 96 percent of eligible voters is one demonstration of the good faith of South Africa. Others include the abolition of discriminatory legislation and the release of political detainees, as required by the independence agreement. The reduction of South African Defense Force units to agreed levels are on schedule, and the restriction to date of South-West African Territory Force, and the suspending and remobilization of commando and citizen force units are on schedule.

The independence process is being implemented on the basis of solemn international agreements. Its success is dependent as well on trust and good faith being demonstrated by all the parties involved. It is imperative that all these parties abide by both the letter and the spirit of the agreements on Namibian freedom and independence.

**8 Sep Press Review on Current Problems, Issues**  
MB0809131589

[Editorial Report]

**THE CITIZEN**

**NP Receives 'Serious Setback' at Polls**—"It would be foolish to under-estimate the serious setback the National Party received at the polls," says the page 6 editorial in Johannesburg *THE CITIZEN* in English on 8 September. However, "since the NP has an overall majority" it might be assumed "it is out of the woods." Nevertheless, the NP "must address itself again to the Afrikaners from whom it used to derive its greatest support. That does not mean abandoning reform, to which it is committed. But it has to take the reform message to the country confidently and unambiguously and convince everyone, Whites as well as Blacks, that their future will be secure."

**THE STAR**

**'Unvoters' To Pressure NP for Change**—"The bruised National Party emerges from this week's general election finally deprived of political choice about its direction," observes Johannesburg *THE STAR* in English on 8 September in a page 10 editorial. "It is a healthy deprivation, made healthier yet by the encouraging support which a supposedly timid white electorate gave to the Democratic Party." Changes are likely to come about

"from the subterranean pressures" that have been created "from inside and outside Parliament. The 'unvoters'—if we may call them that—have entered the battle and the MDM [Mass Democratic Movement] is as much a part of this subterranean struggle as any." The NP is "obliged to move left—even if large elements within it are not entirely sure that that is the way they want to go." The NP said "enough pious things about sharing power to reinforce both the Conservative Party and the split in Afrikanerdom; reunification is unthinkable. In doing so, it awakened enough expectations on the other flank to force movement. But the Nationalist monolith is no more." "When the NP has recovered sufficiently from its worst general election setback in 40 years, it will almost certainly recognise the truth." Right now, F.W. de Klerk "is simply too busy trying to make rejection seem like a resounding mandate. It is an old political ploy, and need concern no one too much." **NP Tries To Frighten Voters With 'Sinister' Mass Movement**—A second editorial on the same page says: "Nationalist politicians made a brutally shortsighted attempt to frighten voters away from the Democratic Party by linking it in a sinister way with the MDM. They were either too insensitive or too greedy for power to understand that their own policy will require them to talk to the MDM and other extra-parliamentary groups if they want to get anywhere with a negotiated peace."

**BUSINESS DAY**

**De Klerk Must Move Quickly To Avoid March of Right**—Editor Ken Owen writes in Johannesburg *BUSINESS DAY* in English on 8 September on page 8 "South Africa has been granted another opportunity, perhaps the last, to escape from the course of madness on which it embarked in 1948." "The future depends now on De Klerk and his Cabinet, leaders of a different stamp from the generation shaped by the events of the Thirties and Forties, of which President Botha was the last, unhappy representative." Therefore, if the NP "intends to break out of the trap into which it has taken the country, it needs to move quickly. If it does not, the optimistic spirit among English voters that gave the DP its strength will surely dissipate into cynicism and radical posturing, and in time the march of the right will resume. The acting State President has been given his chance; it is for him to use that chance."

**SOWETAN**

**NP Unable To Change 'Spots'**—"The trouble with the new government is it will simply be unable to change its old National Party spots," says Johannesburg *SOWETAN* in English on 8 September in its page 6 editorial. "We have grave fears about the well of anger that will rise from the disenfranchised and those fighting for peace and justice. We can almost anticipate the new Government's policy. They will have to stumble along making grievous mistakes, mistakes that are a legacy of the evil apartheid they have supported for more than 40 years. Unless Mr de Klerk makes a clear and unambiguous commitment that there will be a totally different



spirit of restraint and co-operation there is very little hope in store for us. We will soon be saying there would have been very little change between a CP and a NP government." **Sanctions Cause of 'Ferment' in White Society**—Joe Thlooe writes in his "Perspective" column on page 8 "the results of the election indicate that this country will still be walking around with the hangover from policies of Malan, Strijdom, Verwoerd, Vorster and P.W. Botha. White South Africa is still not prepared to get rid of apartheid." The "interesting thing" about the election results is that there is "definitely ferment within white society and this is largely because of economic sanctions and the isolation of South Africa by the international community. The debate that is taking place within the white community, that has led to the DP and the CP doing better than many of us had anticipated, is one of the effects of international action against South Africa."

#### NEW NATION

**Mass Action Divides White 'Ruling Bloc'**—It is clear from the election results "the Nationalist Party monolith has broken and the white ruling bloc is in disarray," states the page 6 editorial in Johannesburg **NEW NATION** in English for 8-14 September. "The National Party social base has been cut to shreds, not by the DP or the CP, but by the mass action of our people who have so divided the white ruling bloc." "We believe that this election must mark the cut-off point for De Klerk and like-thinking people. From now on they will be subjected to sleepless nights by the unfolding campaigns of the democratic movement and the prospects of increasing international isolation. We say that it is instructive that while the ruling bloc is in decay, the people, united in mass action, have taken the offensive."

#### CAPE TIMES

**De Klerk's Stance on Security Brings 'Alienation'**—"Mr F.W. de Klerk's vision on security differs not a wit, it would seem, from the style of the past," observes the page 6 editorial in Cape Town **CAPE TIMES** in English on 1 September. "Being tough on security has brought South Africa massive insecurity. The alienation between some sections of the population seems beyond repair. And the government has nothing to offer except more of the same, which it represents as a political virtue." **NP 'Hypocrites'**—F.W. de Klerk is "leader of a party of hypocrites, which condemns apartheid in Boksburg but itself practises it elsewhere," notes Cape Town **CAPE TIMES** in English on 5 September in a page 8 editorial. De Klerk "promises to open the door to prosperity and economic growth—the economy, after 40 years of misrule, has never looked sicker. He promises to control unrest, violence and terrorism—but does so by using violence against peaceful protesters. None of this is new. It is a tired old strategy that continues to polarise South Africans in their own country and embitter human relations."

#### TRANSVALER

**Mass Defiance Movement Misleads Democrats**—"Black claims on the right to vote and participate in ruling the country are no longer controversial issues within the NP," says Johannesburg **TRANSVALER** in Afrikaans on 5 September in a page 8 editorial. "As a matter of fact it is the central theme in the new party political philosophy that aims to pull the country from its cycle of conflict. Mr F.W. de Klerk's promises in this regard are clear: as soon as the election is over the new talks about negotiation must begin. But the Mass Democratic Movement is not prepared to take that path. The true motives behind its so-called symbolic defiance has surfaced quickly. Only the Democratic Party and Dr Worrall are so naive to allow themselves to be misled."

#### DIE BURGER

**Democratic Letter 'Smokescreen'**—"The Democratic Party troika leadership's open letter to the acting state president is a desperate attempt to escape from the dilemma in which the radicals have placed it," says a page 20 editorial in Cape Town **DIE BURGER** in Afrikaans on 1 September. The DP poses questions about, among other things, the African National Congress, the Pan-Africanist Congress, and the Mass Democratic Movement. "It is nothing more than a smoke-screen that must camouflage the DP's embarrassment over the perpetrators of violence and place the attention on the government."

#### BEELD

**Government Must Clear Petty Apartheid**—"One of the first matters that should receive the government's attention after the election is the uncertainty about petty apartheid," says Johannesburg **BEELD** in Afrikaans on 4 September in a page 8 editorial. "The NP is moving away from injurious apartheid legislation. The CP is trying to turn the clock back." "Public amenities should be public." **BEELD** assures that "even when the Separate Amenities Act is abolished there will be measures that can ensure the maintenance of civilized standards: anyone that behaves badly, such as by dumping trash or creating a disturbance, can still be clamped down on."

#### THE NAMIBIAN

**DTA Reluctant Participant in Elections**—"The DTA [Democratic Turnhalle Alliance] uses words like 'struggle' and 'freedom' so glibly these days—most out of character in fact—when they battled only recently to mouth expressions such as 'SWA/Namibia,'" points out Gwen Lister on page 4 of Windhoek **THE NAMIBIAN** in English on 1 September. "Unfortunately for them however, the DTA is fooling no-one. How can they expect the electorate to believe that they stand for freedom of the press, for instance when their Chairman, Dirk Mudge, demanded to know in a meeting of the National Security Council last year why the SWABC [South-West African Broadcasting Corporation] was permitted to carry SWAPO [South-West African People's

Organization] denials of the Continental Hotel bomb blast for two days running?" "Parties of the former interim government are reluctant participants in the present process. They would use anything and everything at their disposal to discredit SWAPO, but as I said last week, it cannot be disputed that SWAPO have the most to lose if the present process fails. For they have given up the armed struggle, something they cannot revert back to at a moment's notice. The DTA also becomes quite psychotic about numbers attending the various political rallies, including their own—it is perhaps no wonder considering the amount of money they are investing in these meetings—but in the final analysis, the vote count is the most significant and not the attendance at political rallies. It is obvious that the DTA and cohorts would not be saddened by news that the election was either to be postponed, or cancelled because they're really not looking forward to the results of the November 6 political contest."

#### THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER

**Namib Foundation Deserves 'High Praise'**—A page 2 editorial in Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English on 1 September reads: "The democratic political parties operating under the auspices of Namib Foundation, deserve high praise for their great effort to not only lead their peoples politically, but to also cater for their needs over a much wider spectrum. This week they became the proud owners of the Namibian Black Chain, which they intended utilising for various developments and community services. In contrast to SWAPO, the organisation who has been claiming over a period of many years to be the sole representative of all the peoples of SWA, have not lifted a finger as regards to development or community service whatsoever. The leaders of the democratic political parties in Namib Foundation's ranks, have through the years always been quite active as regards development and community service. They have truly served their people well. Buying the Namibian Black Chain (and that in the heart, the very nerve centre, of Katutura) must be regarded as a formidable breakthrough. These leaders have proved to their financial and domestic supporters that they are worth their salt. The beauty of it all is that their system is being run by members from all population groups in the country, proving that even in diversity, there could be unity. The harmony and mutual respect in which these leaders operate serves as another plus point. In the future they will have a growing need for support, especially financial. And we don't doubt for a moment that present donors will continue to support the Foundation in their present fashion. We also do not doubt that the ranks of the contributors are assured to grow."

#### 9 Sep Press Review

MB0909123089

[Editorial Report]

#### THE CITIZEN

**No DP Growth Potential**—"One thing the election has shown is that little reliance, if any, can be placed on

opinion polls," asserts the Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 9 September in a page 6 editorial. "Previous polls in various newspapers had suggested not only that the NP's support had been seriously eroded, but that the DP had overtaken the CP in voting percentages." "While we give the DP credit for a remarkable performance, its successes should not be overrated." "In fact, the DP does not have much potential for further growth (perhaps three seats at most) and cannot be regarded as a serious challenger for power." "It does not have much support in Afrikaans-speaking urban constituencies and no support on the platteland. Such a party cannot be an alternative government."

#### SATURDAY STAR

**Stronger Opposition Praised**—"One healthy outcome of this week's general election is that opposition parties now have much more muscle in demanding simple things like efficient administration, no more corruption and a curb on State extravagance," states the Johannesburg SATURDAY STAR in English on 9 September in a page 8 editorial. "The fact that the opposition parties now speak for more than half the white electorate is bound to be salutary. The Government may have escaped the restraints of a hung Parliament. It cannot duck the consequences of a majority of opposition voters who will expect their MP's to guard their day-to-day interests." "The comfortable cushion of loyal and docile voters has been whipped from under complacent backsides." **Government Uses 'Secret Weapon'**—"During the night of the long political knives and sharp political protests, few people noticed the new Secret Weapon produced by the Government. Those who encountered it—even those who used it this week—apparently failed to see the momentous consequences it may have for South Africa," writes Harvey Tyson in his "Undercurrent Affairs" column on the same page. "The secret weapon is a one-colour solution." "Yes, now you've guessed it. The secret weapon is the purple-water cannon. People are being dyed purple, perhaps for the wrong reasons, but once the idea sticks, we could transform South Africa." "South Africans, as purple people, will all be the same...yet somehow different." Protesters "will be the first to become purple. Those that refuse to cooperate with the authorities in this way can be detained and fingerprinted. Purple finger prints will be enough to identify an individual as a purple person." "It is fear of this potential integration, I suspect, which made the police issue a statement this week stating blandly that 'the purple dye is stainless, and washes off easily'."

#### CAPE TIMES

**Vote for DP Urged**—"Those who are privileged to vote in the House of Assembly election today are in a position to influence the future of South Africa. They should not fail to cast their votes for the Democratic Party," urges the Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 6 September in a page 10 editorial. "A vote for the NP, on the other hand, would be as negative and ambiguous in its message as the NP's own election campaign, which has sought to reconcile vague talks about negotiation with baton

charges and sjamboks." "Unless it is stiffened by an invigorated DP, the ailing National Party is much too divided, demoralized and discredited to do what is needed to save South Africa." **NP No Longer Invincible**—"The dramatic results of the general election show that the mould of white politics is fast beginning to crack. The days of seemingly invincible NP electoral strength finally seem to be over," opines Hermann Giliomee in a page 10 article in the 7 September CAPE TIMES. "The day of reckoning has finally come. Either the NP clearly aligns itself with the DP or the CP or the party faces disintegration." **No Difference in NP, CP Apartheid**—"The Pretoria Supreme Court order that apartheid signs in Carletonville be removed has set a fascinating precedent for the whole of South Africa. Racial discrimination practised in terms of a government law has been judicially overturned," notes the CAPE TIMES in an editorial on the same page. "It is a victory with widespread implications." "If there is indeed a difference between CP-apartheid and Nat-apartheid, nobody has managed to explain it. Both are harsh and unfair, except that the latter has been applied far longer, in accordance with laws which the Nationalist government, not the CP opposition, formulated.

### 11 Sep Press Review

MB1109104089

[Editorial Report]

### SUNDAY STAR

**De Klerk Must Show Personal Interest in Police 'Brutality'**—"While privileged voters were busy making crosses this week, other people were busy dying in election-related violence. Little comfort can be taken from the election results when political violence remains the scourge of our country," says a page 12 editorial in Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR in English on 10 September. SUNDAY STAR blames Acting State President F.W. de Klerk for failing "to defuse mounting political tension." "If Mr de Klerk is at all serious about healing the wounds of the past, and particularly the wounds of the past few days of violence, he should take a hard look at his police force." "Questions raised about police brutality in the Western Cape cry out for answers. If Mr de Klerk is interested in a new era of reconciliation and a 'just SA for all' he must be seen to show a personal interest in getting to the bottom of it all." SUNDAY STAR recalls the media restrictions on unrest, saying: "The emergency regulations keep the public in the dark. If ever there was an opportunity for the police to abuse their vast powers, the state of emergency has created it." "The problem is—and Mr de Klerk claims to know it—the laws of the land are sick. The enforcement of unjust laws is sicker still. If Mr de Klerk wants to achieve anything in his term of office he must not only learn to display the face of human kindness and understanding. He must bring justice to the country. Without it, his grand plans for the future will come to nought."

### SUNDAY TIMES

**De Klerk Needs 'Sense of Proportion' to Expectations**—A page 22 editorial in Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English on 10 September claims F.W. de Klerk "has a problem that deserves understanding. On one hand, he has recognised the need to create a new, shared political order. On the other, he confronts timetables that, in the realm of practical politics, are simply impractical." "Mr de Klerk should take care that he does not allow demands for the best to impede him from doing what is good. If we are not to suffer another Rubicon-style fiasco, a sense of proportion must be restored to expectations. The situation requires simple common sense—something seen only rarely in the imperial court of his predecessor." "An image of cool clarity and not obfuscatory jargon, a programme of sure-footed action, and not cosmetic tinkering, is what the president-to-be must generate in this time of transition. Why not start by simply clearing the Statute Book in the manner recommended by the Law Commission? That done, he might be surprised by the time people are willing to grant him." **Townships 'True Test' for NP Reform Mandate**—A second editorial on the same page reads: "On the same day that white voters in their thousands exercised their democratic rights at the polls, at least 15 people died in the Cape Peninsula as the result of confrontations between the police and voteless protesters. And at least 3-million others voted with their feet in a massive stayaway campaign. Average white South Africans are fairly oblivious to the violence that has erupted in townships across the country—again the censorship imposed by the State of Emergency shields them from all but the sparsest details of what has taken place. But when a coloured police lieutenant—a man respected by his peers and also in his community—puts a promising career on the line to publicly criticise the actions of his fellow members of the force then, surely, the need for swift action becomes inescapably apparent. Again the NP Government has received a mandate, and again it claims that it is a mandate for reform. The true test of such noble intentions will be in places like the Cape Flats and Soweto."

### THE CITIZEN

**De Klerk Patience of 'True Reformer'**—Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 11 September in its page 6 editorial says F.W. de Klerk "has not panicked over his party's reverse at the poll." "Whereas in the past, the NP might have looked anxiously over its shoulder at the Right, Mr De Klerk is going ahead with his party's five-year plan for creating a new South Africa. He may not be able to satisfy the ANC or the Mass Democratic Movement, with which the ANC is in tandem. He may not satisfy even some of the moderate Black leaders. He is determined, nevertheless, to achieve a negotiated settlement." Mr de Klerk "does want reform, wants a new South Africa, and has the ability, the convictions and the patience of a true reformer."



### THE STAR

**Call for End to Police 'Secrecy'**—"There is much that South Africans, including the media, are not permitted to know about happenings in their own country; and much that the media do know, but are not allowed to tell," observes a page 14 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 11 September. "Now comes an even more sinister development: growing doubt that the little information that does find its way through the Emergency screen is entirely accurate. Time and again, the police version of 'unrest' incidents is challenged by those involved or by eye-witnesses. The usual police reaction is to reiterate their own story and invite complaints which they promise will be investigated." "It requires no expert advice to know that an end to secrecy, evasion and questionable official reports would be an excellent starting point" for reform.

### BUSINESS DAY

**Public Must Not Pay for Jet Trip of Former President**—South African Defense Force Chief Jannie Geldenhuys "should be looking for another kind group of ladies to pay for the Air Force executive jet sent from Pretoria to pick up the former president in Cape Town and fly him to George so he could cast his vote," says Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 11 September in a page 10 editorial. Whatever the cost "it should not come out of the public purse." "The Defence Force is one of many departments which must learn that the imperial presidency is over and that public money is appropriated for public purposes. General Geldenhuys is given billions every year to defend the country, not to play taxi to former public servants." **Editor Gives Guidelines for De Klerk Reform 'Success'**—Editor Ken Owen writes on the same page that if F.W. de Klerk is to succeed he should begin by "unbanning restricted organisations and leaders, dismantling the state of emergency, which rests on futile efforts at thought control, and resorting instead to the vigorous enforcement of the common law (against murder, arson, malicious damage to property and so forth)." De Klerk's success also requires a "tight hold on fiscal policy, and indeed the elimination of the many instruments of social engineering created in the vain endeavour to enforce apartheid." "If President de Klerk will set the Law Commission to work to eliminate unjust law, and dismantle the costly bureaucracy of apartheid, strengthening only the enforcement of just law, he will have a chance—an outside chance—of success."

### SOWETAN

**Policeman Speaking Out Against Riot Unit 'Refreshing'**—Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 11 September in its page 6 editorial comments on the South African policeman who spoke out against the riot unit police who "acted like 'wild dogs' with the 'killer instinct'." "It is refreshing to get a view from quarters whose every movement and word has been guarded by stringent regulations and laws. These men, who are engaged in difficult work, should be given the right to

express their views as free men and, more importantly, as respected guardians of public order." "An inquiry will probably be held and if we know the machinations of bureaucracies, the police force will defend itself against such an outspoken rebel. But it does need strong men like this one to strengthen its credibility."

### \* Morobe Defines Mass Democratic Movement

34000772 Johannesburg FINANCIAL MAIL  
in English 4 Aug 89 p 42

[Text] A new appellation, the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM), has in recent weeks inserted itself into SA [South Africa]'s political lexicon. The MDM has never officially launched; it doesn't appear to have a leader nor an address as such (which is why one Afrikaans newspaper recently complained there is no such organisation—it wasn't even listed in the telephone directory).

However, as most political observers correctly assume, MDM is basically just a new, not-yet-restricted name for the United Democratic Front (UDF)—the umbrella body of some 600 community, student, church, professional and other affiliate organisations which is restricted under the State of Emergency. Interestingly, Cosatu (always part of the UDF) seems to have a bigger influence in the MDM—even though Cosatu is restricted from engaging in "politics." MDM could quite easily have been BMD (Broad Democratic Movement), which was the label that had been used interchangeably until MDM became preferred.

The clearest exposition of what the MDM is was provided by UDF acting publicity secretary Murphy Morobe, in an address to the Transvaal Indian Congress's consultative conference last Sunday.

According to Morobe: "The MDM is that political movement which unites the broad masses of the oppressed from all classes and strata, together with democratic whites, in action around a programme of securing the transfer of political and economic power to the democratic majority of the people."

"It is guided by the perspective of turning our country into a democratic, non-racial and united SA; is committed to the leadership of the working masses in the struggle for total liberation; accepts the African majority as the main force of struggle, and their liberation...as the basis for building democracy in Sa."

The MDM further "recognises the ANC [African National Congress] as the vanguard in the national democratic struggle has organised formations like UDF, Cosatu (which form a strategic alliance); has a mass approach to organisation (thus involving the masses actively, purposeful and consistently in their struggle); has or seeks to have accountable leadership; and engages in alliances and campaigns on the basis of unity in action and united mass action behind a common programme."



Morobe claims the MDM has grown "dramatically" over the past five years. The UDF and Cosatu as its "strategic core" have been welded into a fighting alliance, which is characterised by firm principles, a dynamic strategy and flexibility of tactics. The MDM also counts among its ranks the SA Youth Congress (Sayco), formed at the height of the second emergency; some churches; the Five Freedoms Forum; the Congress of SA Writers (Cosaw); and the SA Health Workers' Congress (Sahwco).

The main organisational task of the MDM today, he explained, is to "rebuild those of our structures that have been smashed, to consolidate those that emerged under the emergency and to strengthen those that have been weakened. This process cannot take place outside actual political campaigning creatively adapted to and shaped by present conditions." This task includes "overcoming the initial limitations imposed by segregation, different cultural backgrounds and ethnic peculiarities...to bring about a truly non-racial political culture."

Also, "we must ensure that the constitutional guidelines (of the ANC) are thoroughly debated and understood by the masses of our people," said Morobe. He described the draft guidelines as "an important step in our struggle for a democratic constitution shaped and informed by the people themselves; it must reflect the specific needs of each community and the democratic interests of the peoples as a whole. Each community must make its input in the shaping of the democratic constitution. We must start building the future today...."

"Our primary task is to build a broad coalition of anti-apartheid forces on the basis of minimum demands and unity in action. This coalition must maximise unity against the regime, isolate it and provide a platform where the strategic core of the MDM, together with other forces for change, may determine both the terrain and terms of struggle."

Regarding the possibility of negotiations, Morobe said the MDM has a task to ensure that its people fully understand the political and economic factors which give rise to this question today. This must be done in a way that "clarifies our strategic approach." He advised spelling out a clear concept of negotiation, within the context of struggle, for transfer of power to the people; harmonising views; promoting the perspective of mass offensive and international isolation of the regime; pressuring the regime to create a climate conducive to negotiations that will include free political activity; and "ensuring that the mechanisms and parameters of this process are not imposed from outside."

After all is said and done, Morobe asserts, "there can only be two parties at the negotiating table—the leaders of the present minority government, the NP [National Party] and those of the democratic majority led by the ANC."

### \* COSATU Official Defines People's Culture

34000771c Johannesburg THE NEW NATION  
in English 28 Jul-3 Aug 89 p 11

[Discussion with Mi Hlatwayo, COSATU culture co-ordinator]

[Text] The word "culture" has become loaded over the years, becoming burdened with notions of snobbery and elitism.

Being cultured can mean anything from peering down from a balcony at an opera performance or daintily pecking cheese while sipping wine in the garden.

But what word is now slowly being reappropriated in South Africa.

When Mi Hlatwayo, the culture co-ordinator of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), uses it, it means something very different from the old-world meaning.

He distinguishes between "a culture of oppression" and "a people's culture" in South Africa.

"The orientation of our culture has been that of exploitation, oppression and disregard for the development of human beings," he told NEW NATION. "If you look at our history during the past 300 years, you can see that.

"That is why it is important to deal with culture when we try to correct the situation—culture moves people; it allows people to kill."

Hlatwayo mentioned Barend Strydom's killing spree as an example.

"He says that if he's free tomorrow, he'll do the same thing. He does regret it," said Hlatwayo. "He represents a culture of violence."

But, he added, Strydom did not produce that culture: "Our rulers produce that culture. They do not see us as human beings who should have political rights as citizens of this country.

"That culture of violence and exploitation has moulded the white minority. The challenge facing us as cultural workers is to try to correct this, so that culture will respect people as people, not as tools."

Cosatu believes it has a central role in this process.

"We have adopted a policy that we as workers should not only be involved in political programmes," said Hlatwayo. "We must also be involved in trying to shape a people's culture."

For that reason Cosatu has established local cultural structures throughout the country. "We thought it important not to just create a national cultural structure," said Hlatwayo.

"That we could have done easily by getting all unions to select representatives. But Cosatu thought it best to create local units, which will in turn help and encourage cultural groups, guide them, give them assistance."

He said the formation of local units also facilitates the dissemination of information.

"Whatever comes from the leadership can be disseminated down to local structures, so that not only a few people know about things like the cultural boycott," said Hlatswayo.

"People at local level in Newcastle and Kokstad must be able to talk about these things, they must have a structure to discuss these things."

There are more than 20 local cultural units in the Highveld area alone.

"We have been able to encourage a people's culture," said Hlatswayo, "a non-profit oriented culture that wants to promote life, that wants to promote people's struggles as they are fought today by the masses of our people."

"The progressive cultural movement is slowly gaining momentum. As workers, we are proud that we are part of that programme. We are part of the broad programme of challenging apartheid culture."

But, added Hlatswayo, the cultural movement faces a major challenge: "We have created many cultural groups, but we still need to upgrade our cultural work."

"It needs to be [of] such [a quality] that it can challenge commercial cultural productions on merit, not [on the basis] that it's coming from progressive cultural organizations and [therefore] has to be popular."

"No. If the cultural wing of the mass democratic movement wants to be taken seriously, it has to upgrade the standard of its cultural performances."

"In Cosatu we are making attempts at finding training and skills so we can upgrade our productions."

Hlatswayo said there was a need to become more aware of the potential of cultural work—even among "our leadership".

"Culture is a vehicle for oppression, but it can also be a vehicle for liberation," he said. "For that it needs incentives, it needs encouragement from the elected leadership—resources, skills, space, facilities."

"If we look at capitalist societies, you'll find that they are investing millions in cultural development. They are not stupid. It is culture that will make people create more wealth, make them love their country, themselves."

"In South Africa, within the forces fighting for liberation, we still lack that understanding. It is our duty as cultural workers to educate our leadership."

"And the best way is for us to improve our cultural productions, to speak to them through our cultural productions."

Hlatswayo said there was much more cultural workers can do in South Africa.

"What, for instance, are we doing to save the Upington 14 who are to be hanged?" he asked. "What are our artists doing about the state of emergency? Why don't we take national action as cultural workers?"

"We need to demonstrate our commitment as cultural workers. This is the only way we will gain respect from the masses."

Another challenge facing cultural workers, Hlatswayo said, was to establish a national cultural movement.

"We have to challenge the apparatus of apartheid culture," he said. "We have to know how to combat the SABC [South Africa Broadcasting Corporation], the press. Our people are getting disinformation from it."

But, he said, the only real solution was to end apartheid—"because it is then that we can put culture where culture belongs, put art where art belongs."

"Cultural workers need to be involved in the disintegration of apartheid and help those forces trying to place power in the hands of the people themselves," Hlatswayo said.

"A people's culture can only develop in South Africa when the majority of people themselves have political rights and can choose the government they want."

"It will then be the people themselves who control such institutions as education, the press, television, sports facilities. In other words, a people's culture will follow a people's government."

But, he added, "I'm not saying there is no such thing as a people's culture even before the end of apartheid."

"Of course, in our own small ways we have [developed] a people's culture. We have democratic structures, where people come together to make decisions about their lives collectively. That's one aspect of people's culture."

But, he stressed, a people's culture will only develop fully when power is no longer in the hands of apartheid. "Those in government have the power to shape the culture which prevails in a country," he said.

#### **\* Coal Gasification Plant in PRC Commissioned**

34000771a Johannesburg *THE CITIZEN*  
in English 1 Aug 89 p 26

[Text] Foster Wheeler South Africa has commissioned a coal gasification plant in Red China.

The plant, valued at R10 million was designed, engineered and manufactured in South Africa and constructed in China by Chinese labour working under Foster Wheeler supervision.

The plant comprises proprietary Foster Wheeler coal gasification technology to produce an industrial fuel gas.

This gas is cleaned, cooled and desulphurised prior to use in an advanced ceramics factory. Gas Cleanliness and a very low sulphur content are critical to the successful production of the high quality ceramic products.

Foster Wheeler secured the contract on a competitive bidding basis against international competition.

## Angola

### Dos Santos Seeks End to Foreign Interference

MB1109200889 Luanda ANGOP in Portuguese  
1930 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Text] Luanda, 11 Sep (ANGOP)—Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has disclosed that the Angolan Government is discussing the resolution of the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] issue with the Zairian authorities.

In an exclusive interview with Hungarian journalists during his 24-hour visit to that East European country on 7 September, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos affirmed that "we are talking with the Zairian authorities to resolve the UNITA issue and, at the same time, to relieve Zaire of foreign pressures".

During the interview, the Angolan head of state said the intention of the United States, as principal promoter of destabilization in Angola, was to transfer the Angolan counterrevolution's support base from southern to northern Angola. He added that South Africa continues to assist UNITA: "This assistance used to be open. It is now covert, and less than before, but it continues. It must cease," the Angolan head of state stressed. He reaffirmed that, despite South Africa's violations of the New York accords, the Angolan and Cuban Governments are willing to continue respecting the agreements concerning the search for peace in southwestern Africa. He recalled that there is a clause in the New York accords stating that, "should South Africa wholly or partly violate the accords, Angola and Cuba can stop the Cuban troop withdrawal".

Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos noted that "this would be tantamount to not fulfilling the accords, admitting violations and suspending the Cuban withdrawal". The Angolan head of state added that Cuban troop withdrawal continues to proceed normally.

"We want all foreign factors affecting the Angolan issue to be eliminated, so that the Angolan people can solve their own problems by themselves, in their own sovereignty," President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said.

The New York accords state that South Africa must cease all forms of interference in Angola's internal affairs. The Angolan head of state added that, given that the UNITA issue is an Angolan problem, there should not be any direct or indirect links between the New York accords and the UNITA issue. Regarding the New York accords, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos regretted South Africa's failure to fully observe the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435/78 on Namibia.

He noted that South Africa demobilized part of its Army, including Namibian police forces responsible for maintaining order during the process of transition to independence, when in fact those forces should have been dismantled.

"The UN Security Council recently approved a resolution on this issue. We shall continue demanding that these forces be effectively dismantled, as prescribed by Resolution 435", President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said, adding that these questions will be discussed at the next session of the Angolan-Cuban-South African commission for overseeing the implementation of the New York accords, which is scheduled to be held soon in Havana, the Cuban capital.

### Savimbi Urges Progress on Cease-Fire Documents

MB1209050689 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0213 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Jamba, Sept 12, SAPA—UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] President Dr Jonas Savimbi yesterday (Monday) called on African heads of state attempting to mediate a ceasefire in Angola to "straighten out all the documents so we can work with only one."

He was addressing a news conference at his headquarters, Jamba, as renewed battles between UNITA and FAPLA [People's Armed forces for the Liberation of Angola] threaten to upset the settlement process envisaged by the Gbadolite accord of June 22.

UNITA's deputy chief of general staff, Gen Arlindo Bena, told 14 journalists who visited a battle zone 70km south east of Cuito Cuanavale that UNITA had repelled an attack by 300 mechanised FAPLA troops last month, but the expected "more heavy fighting."

Dr Savimbi said yesterday the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] had prepared for the offensive before the adoption of the Gbadolite agreement, but he did not consider the clashes signalled the end of the accord.

"I don't consider there to have been a ceasefire, it was still in the process of being negotiated.

"I deplore the fighting but I don't think it's the end."

A ceasefire for two forces that had been fighting for 14 years could not be effected within 24 hours.

Dr Savimbi said the many interpretations that had been placed on the accord meant that "something is wrong."

However, President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire had assured him yesterday that "the real document is Gbadolite."

But there was still the danger of "secret agendas," and "someone will have to straighten out all the documents so we can work with only one."

Dr Savimbi said UNITA would probably not attend another round of talks in Kinshasa on September 18 because it first had to formulate its policies at a congress in Jamba from September 25 to 29.

In the meantime, UNITA would not launch an offensive, but its soldiers had instructions to defend their positions until a political settlement had been reached.

He said "professors from Europe" said FAPLA was using chemical weapons.

"But something is wrong. Nobody wants to talk about it."

There was no tangible evidence of Cuban involvement in the latest hostilities, he said.

### Journalists Visit Scene of UNITA-FAPLA Clashes

MB1209052189 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0207 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Kuzumbia River, Angola Sept 12 SAPA—Scenes of utter devastation awaited journalists who yesterday visited the terrain of renewed battles between FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] in south-eastern Angola.

Their guide, Gen Arlindo "Ben Ben" Bena, UNITA's deputy chief of general staff, said the terrain, 70km south of Cuito Cuanavale, marked the area where UNITA had stopped a major offensive FAPLA had launched from Cuito Cuanavale last month.

He said the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] thrust, carried out by three mechanised tactical groups of 1000 men each, had begun on August 18 and in contravention of the Gbadolite agreement of June 22 that provided for a cessation of hostilities.

UNITA "destroyed" the invading forces over a three-day period ending on August 29, using artillery and anti-tank weaponry, regular forces, and cross-border saboteurs that operated in teams of four and in FAPLA uniforms.

He said FAPLA used three battalions of T55 tanks and three battalions of BMP1 troop carriers in its offensive that included offensives on Ongiva, near the Namibian border, and from Luena. These thrusts had been contained.

Gen Bena said 89 FAPLA troops' bodies were found on the terrain, but he calculated that FAPLA deaths totalled 273, and that 569 had been wounded.

UNITA suffered 40 deaths, and 76 injured. Gen Bena said 66 UNITA fighters had been toxicated by chemical weapons.

The MPLA lost 26 BMP1s and seven BTR60 troop carriers, 12 T55 tanks, and 56 vehicles.

18 FAPLA soldiers had been captured.

He took reporters to the wreckage of a MiG23 fighter that had been shot down on August 19.

The aircraft broke into two in the air after being hit by a surface to air missile fired by area commander Brig Tarzan's forces.

The tail section fell 200m from the rest of the fuselage. The remains of the Angolan pilot fell two metres from the cockpit, and were buried on the spot.

A second MiG23 had been hit and was believed to have crashed south of Menongue while limping back to base.

A few kilometres further south, 40 FAPLA were virtually vaporised when UNITA scored a direct hit on a BM21 multiple rocket launcher carrying 40 122mm rockets. They exploded on the vehicle, destroying several other nearby FAPLA vehicles.

A letter, apparently from a Cuban to his Angolan wife, was found at the scene.

In the letter, found in the middle of a scorched zone that look as though it had been struck by a mini-atom bomb, he promised her "100000 kisses on her face" when he returned from the war.

Reporters also saw two BMP1 troop carriers and a T55 that had been ripped apart by UNITA missiles from a range of 1200m as they crossed open grassland. The severed tank turret was flung 20m through the air.

The UNITA front was about 42km from Cuito Cuanavale this week and Gen Bena expected "more heavy fighting."

He briefed reporters at his tactical headquarters 25km from the front, and 67km from Cuito Cuanavale, amid the distant rumbling of FAPLA firing a Stalin organ [missile launcher] towards the UNITA positions.

Gen Bena said UNITA had never crossed the Cuito River, and that the MPLA had started the hostilities.

Their target had been Mavinga, 100km to the south-east, and ultimately UNITA's bush headquarters, Jamba, further south.

Gen Bena said FAPLA's tactics had changed in that they had used more mechanised infantry.

There had been no evidence that Cubans had been involved, but UNITA fighters had seen "some people who speak Portuguese fluently."

### Political Bureau Declaration Honors Neto

MB1109202889 Luanda ANGOP in Portuguese  
1957 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Text] Luanda, 11 Sep (ANGOP)—In an MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]-Labor Party Political Bureau declaration issued in Luanda on 10 September, the Angolan Government condemned the alliances certain patriots are forming with the apartheid regime to fulfill their excessive ambitions of assuming power.

The declaration is in memory of Antonio Agostinho Neto, Angola's first president, to mark Angola's national Heroes' Day on 17 September. The declaration added that freedom



to us (?is worth) more than any political goal. It is an issue of honor and dignity. This was a clear allusion to UNITA's [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] alliance with the apartheid system.

After highlighting the late Angolan leader's main achievements, the declaration stressed the example contained in Antonio Agostinho Neto's life, as well as the political and moral strength of his ideas, which live on in the hearts and minds of all Angolans, so that we can achieve the goals we have outlined.

In conclusion, the declaration called on the Angolan people to redouble their efforts, thereby honoring Antonio Agostinho Neto's memory, under the guidance of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, Neto's worthy successor.

### **Military Experts End Talks in Zaire**

*MB1109202489 Luanda ANGOP in Portuguese  
1930 GMT 11 Sep 89*

[Text] Kinshasa, 11 Sep (ANGOP)—Zairian Television and Radio (Voice of Zaire) said in a commentary last Saturday [9 Sep] that the Angolan and Zairian military experts meeting that ended in Kinshasa on Friday had achieved one of the most important accomplishments in relations between the two countries in order to restore peace in Angola.

The two information organs stressed that the meeting was held within the framework of the activities of the subcommittee established to examine practical ways for promoting a climate of peace, security, and trust between the two peoples.

Zairian Television and Radio also noted that the meeting, which took place after the reopening of the Angolan-Zairian border and the Gbadolite agreement, is a sign of a positive climate.

## **Mozambique**

### **South African Delegation Arrives for Talks**

*MB1109112289 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese  
1030 GMT 11 Sep 89*

[Text] A South African delegation of the joint Mozambique-South African security commission arrived this morning in Maputo to meet with its Mozambican counterpart, within the framework of the Nkomati Accord signed by the two governments in March 1984.

### **\* Bulgarians Improve Factory Efficiency**

*34000770 Harare SOUTHERN AFRICAN  
ECONOMIST in English Jun/Jul 89 pp 41, 43*

[Article by Antonio Gumende: "The Business-Boosting Bulgarians"]

[Text] Maputo: When a team of Bulgarians took over the management of the Investro clothing factory on the

outskirts of the Mozambican capital in August 1987, many sceptical voices were heard. That was the time when Mozambique was going through the initial phase of the government's Economic Recovery Programme (PRE in the Portuguese acronym), marking the decisive step in what was labelled as the country's turn to the West, at least in the economic sphere. So why were those Bulgarians, who were resisting the soviet perestroika and glasnost at home, coming into Mozambique at this stage?

The Investro takeover resulted from an agreement between the two governments in October 1986 to form a joint enterprise in clothing manufacture which would produce not only for local consumption but for export. Thus what was previously Investro became the Zora factory, named after its Bulgarian counterpart.

Under the agreement the Bulgarians would be responsible for just about every aspect of management, including technical assistance, provisions of machinery, professional training, organisation of production and social services for the workforce. When Mr Mario Machungo, Mozambique's prime minister, visited the factory last year he told the Bulgarians that he expected them to build "a socialist factory with Japanese efficiency".

What sort of factory did the Bulgarians find when they arrived? Mr Dimitri Soultanov, the Bulgarian director of the factory, describes the situation inherited by his team as "a total mess".

"Honestly speaking," he says, "the management of the factory was a real disaster. There was no planning in any of the sectors, 30 percent of the equipment was wrongly described as being out of order, the workers' skills were very low, the warehouses were full of unsold products, the workers had no motivation and were sleeping on the machines..." Mr Soultanov takes a deep breath and adds that these are just a few examples of what was wrong.

Worst of all, the factory had a crippling debt. According to conservative estimates, it amounted to what was then the equivalent of US\$1.8 million, accumulated over six years of inefficiency. "This is not a caricature," says the Bulgarian director. "These are real facts and even our Mozambican friends agree with us." He added that in practice the factory had been functioning like a small tailor's workshop, relying on small orders from individual customers.

The team that Mr Soultanov brought with him to Maputo had a lot of experience in the textile industry. Their only fear when they arrived was that the workers might not be willing to cooperate. They were determined to change everything, from management methods to production cycles, so they knew their task would not be easy.

"When you change a working system that has been in force for many years you have to bear in mind that you are making a revolution," he says. Pointing to his hair which is starting to turn grey he adds: "In Bulgaria I didn't get this in twenty years of hard work."

Mr Soultanov has a secret to explain the success that made it possible in just one year to achieve a staggering profit of the equivalent of around US\$2 million—a figure which he expects will go on growing, both in terms of local currency and foreign exchange. The factory is receiving orders not just from Bulgaria but from countries as far afield as Finland, Australia, Canada and a number of European countries that want to buy a total of 102,000 pieces of clothing. Such customers are attracted by a combination of modern fashion design and manufacture.

So what is the secret? Is it just good management, better organisation, job discipline and the investment of some US\$60,000 dollars in equipment? No, says Mr Soultanov. He thinks the key to his success lies above all in the introduction of a system that links each worker's salary to the practical result of his or her work, taking quality as well as quantity into account.

The system, which had been virtually unknown in Mozambique, consists of determining the average time spent by each worker to produce a certain quality and quantity and using that as a yardstick. All the pieces that match the time and quality standard thus set are registered on a worker's card and provide an increment to the minimum salary fixed by the government for industrial workers.

Thus, the worker has the guarantee of a fixed salary even if he or she can't reach the standards laid down by the management. But there is no limit on salaries and everyone gets what he produces. Mr Soultanov makes the straightforward point that the workers know that if they work more they make more money. He disclosed that the record wage so far earned by any worker in the factory in one month was 88,000 meticals (about US\$140), whereas the fixed national salary for an industrial worker is about 18,000 meticals (US\$25). If there is an interruption in the work which is not the workers' fault, they are compensated.

Mr Soultanov says that whereas the workers were unwilling to do much to begin with, the new system has boosted their morale and they now get worried when there is nothing to do because they know they will only get their basic wage. The system resulted in an average increase in earnings of 20 percent over the past two years—a very rare event in Mozambique since the introduction of PRE. As a result of their success the Bulgarians have been asked to help other Mozambican factories implement the same system.

Mr Soultanov sees the main management problems in the Mozambican clothing industry as the lack of adequate planning and productive organisation, a shortage of highly qualified personnel, weak stock systems and poor maintenance of machinery, not to mention low motivation of workers who work for a low fixed wage. He says that his system can be introduced in any factory where production is in the form of identifiable piece goods, and claims that his team has set things up in such a way that the system will continue after they leave.

So if you have problems running your clothing company, think about it before you close it down: you could always make a call to Bulgaria.

## Namibia

### Missile Fired From Angola 10 Sep Injures 3

MB1109122889 Johannesburg Domestic Service  
in English 1100 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Text] Three inhabitants of Ovambo have been injured by a missile fired from Angolan territory which hit their kraal.

The South-West African Broadcasting Corporation reports that according to one of the injured, 78-year-old Mr Shiyelekeni Ndishishi, the missile exploded in the kraal at about 1600 yesterday afternoon. The injured were taken by a civilian vehicle to Oshakati, where they were admitted to the state hospital.

### SWAPO's Geingob Says Nujoma To Return 14 Sep

MB1109115289 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1134 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Text] Windhoek Sept 11 SAPA—SWAPO's [South-West African People's Organization] secretary-general, Mr Andimba Toivo ja Toivo, and the party's national chairman, Mr David Merero, arrived back in Namibia today to take part in the country's November independence election.

A delighted Mr ja Toivo said on arrival just after 11am it was "always sweet to be back home".

"Home sweet home," he remarked kissing the tarmac at the steps of the Angolan Airlines Boeing 737.

He was joined on his knees by a frail Mr Merero, who walked with aid of a stick.

There were hugs and slaps on the back all round as the arrivals from Luanda were met at the Windhoek International Airport by the head of SWAPO's election directorate, Mr Hage Geingob and a party of local SWAPO senior officials.

Mr Merero, who went into exile on September 1, 1975 told reporters SWAPO leaders were coming home from exile to vote to elect the country's first president.

"We have come back to register ourselves to vote...We are voting to create a president of the Democratic Republic of Namibia, a black president."

Mr ja Toivo, who returned to Namibia in 1984, after serving 17 years of a 20-year prison term on Robben Island in South Africa for his political activities, left the country later the same year for Lusaka and was appointed SWAPO's secretary-general in 1986.

Mr Geingob said Mr ja Toivo was due to address his first political rally in Rundu, northern Namibia this Saturday.

He was not sure when Mr Merero, who had just been released from hospital, would address a meeting, Mr Geingob said.

He told reporters SWAPO's president, Mr Sam Nujoma, was definitely coming home on Thursday as announced last week.

Technical problems caused the delay of today's arrival from Luanda originally scheduled for Saturday, Mr Geingob said.

SWAPO officials and media representatives arrived at the airport after the aircraft had touched down ahead of schedule and were just in time to meet the leaders from Luanda.

Asked if the delay was not due to fears of flying over southern Angola where fresh fighting had reportedly broken out, Mr Geingob told reporters, "SWAPO has never been afraid of going anywhere".

Mr ja Toivo was a co-founder of the Ovamboland Peoples Organisation in Cape Town in 1958, which was later transformed into the SWA [South-West Africa] Peoples Organisation.

Deported from the Cape in 1958, Mr ja Toivo was returned to Namibia where he was confined to Ovambo after being arrested at Tsumeb.

After the first armed clashes between SWAPO and South African Police at Ongulumbashe in 1966, Mr ja Toivo was arrested with 36 others and taken to Pretoria where he was tried in 1967 as the first accused from Namibia under the terrorism act which had been retroactive to 1962.

Addressing the court after his conviction, Mr ja Toivo said SWAPO had been a peaceful organisation but continual repression by the authorities had left it with no option but to take up arms in the national liberation struggle for Namibia.

South Africa, he said, was an intruder who had failed its sacred mandate to lead Namibia to independence.

Pretoria's courts had no right to try Namibians and South Africa had no claims on Namibia.

Mr ja Toivo, sentenced to 20 years, was transferred from Robben Island to Namibia in 1984 and released the same year.

#### **Pienaar Satisfied Security 'Under Control'**

*MB1109194789 Windhoek Domestic Service in Afrikaans  
1900 GMT 11 Sep 89*

[Text] Administrator General Louis Pienaar is satisfied that the security situation in the territory is under

control, but has given instructions that reports of an armed troop buildup on the borders with neighboring states should be investigated.

Mr Gerhard Roux, the senior spokesman in the office of the administrator general, Advocate Pienaar, has full confidence in the South-West African Police to contain any eventuality.

#### **11 Political Parties Apply for Registration**

*MB1209112289 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0952 GMT 12 Sep 89*

[Text] Windhoek Sept 12 SAPA—A total of 11 political groups applied for registration in the Windhoek Supreme Court today to contest Namibia's United Nations-supervised independence elections in November.

The election fronts are:

- Action Christian National (ANC)
- Christian Democratic Action (CDA)
- Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA)
- Federal Convention of Namibia (FCN)
- Namibia Christian Democratic Party (NCDP)
- Namibia National Front (NNF)
- Namibia National Democratic Party (NNDP)
- National Patriotic Front (NPF)
- SWA [South-West African] People's Organization [SWAPO]
- SWAPO-Democrats (SWAPO-D) and
- United Democratic Front (UDF).

Namibia's judge-president, Mr Justice Hans Berker, adjourned the registration court to September 28 to enable election officials to verify the lists of 2000 registered voters that had to be submitted by each party in support of its application.

In terms of the electoral legislation the parties had to put forward their initials, acceptable symbols to be printed on the ballot papers and a deposit of R10,000.

A party forfeits the deposit if it fails to win enough votes for one seat in the proposed 72-member constituent assembly.

On a 100 per cent ballot a party must win about 9500 votes for each representative in the assembly.

In spite of the relatively large number of election umbrella organizations, political observers believe the main contenders in the elections will be the DTA and SWAPO, vying for the support of Namibia's estimated 677,000 voters.

Leaders of SWAPO-D and the NPF, Mr Andreas Shipanga and Mr Moses Katjiuongua, were in animated conversation with ACN leader, Mr Jannie de Wet, and co-NPF leader, Mr Eben van Zijl, in the front benches of the packed court.



Mr de Wet is an executive of the all-white SWA National Party, a position previously held by Mr van Zijl, before he broke away from the party.

UDF President Mr Justus Garoeb rushed in at the last minute to sign his party's documents.

FCN leader Mr Hans Diergaardt, whose Rehoboth Baster constituency forms the main support of the Front, shared a bench with the CDA's Mr Werner Neef, and the DTA's Mr Mishake Muyongo and Dr Ben Africa.

Leader of the NCDP Mr Hans Rohr said he had not yet obtained the required 2,000 registered voters owing to various problems.

Mr Justice Berker interrupted Mr Rohr and said the NCDP had 14 days to collect the required names.

The CDA also indicated that it was still 733 names short.

SWAPO was among the five parties who had submitted the lists of 2,000 voters which were still being checked by electoral officials.

The party was represented in the registration court by the head of its legal services, Dr Ngarikutuke Tjiriange and Dr Albert Kawana, also of SWAPO's legal department.

### **Zambia**

#### **Defense Minister Wants Cooperation with Zimbabwe**

*MB1109185489 Lusaka Domestic Service in English  
1800 GMT 11 Sep 89*

[Text] Zimbabwe and Zambia have been urged to strengthen collaboration in defense to face apartheid, which is a mutual enemy in the south African region.

Defense Minister of State Dodson Syatalimi said today that Zambia and Zimbabwe face the common wrath of apartheid, and called for cooperative support to deal with the threat. He was speaking in his office when a Zimbabwean Army delegation called on him. The minister of state said the Zambian Army had been transformed to play a [word indistinct] role in promoting economic activities to improve living standards.

## Nigeria

### \* Babangida's Policies Toward 1992 Examined

34190339 Cotonou EHUZU in French  
27 Jul 89 pp 6, 7, 12.

[Article by Monique Mas, MFI: "Economic and Political 'Housecleaning'"]

[Text] The Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida has managed to restore the confidence of his country's creditors. New loans and the rescheduling of its debt will keep Nigeria afloat. But the social cost of the severe structural-adjustment measures has resulted for the second time in a year in bloody riots. The Nigerian president canceled an important visit to France scheduled for 7-10 June to remain at the helm of his country. Behind these economic problems, however, are no less important political questions that he intends to resolve before handing over power to the civilian regime.

Opting to confront the situation head-on, President Babangida decreed a state of economic emergency as soon as he came to power in August of 1985. His predecessor Buhari vacillated before the demands made by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as conditions of the loan necessary to ease the burden of the country's foreign debt. Babangida launched a very harsh Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) in mid-1986. He wants to break free of the devastating oil trap.

#### Austerity and Violence

Nigeria, which at the start of the seventies still had a sizable agricultural sector—55 percent of GNP [gross national product] and 65 percent of export revenues—can no longer meet its food needs and must, in particular, import 20 times more cereals. A revival of agriculture is urgent. Ibrahim Babangida also wants to put an end to the overvaluing of the naira, the national currency, and to imports that benefit all manner of smugglers and traffickers more than the country's industrial health. Only those imports duly targeted and that are useful and profitable are authorized. And, since 1984, the value of the naira has fallen from 12 French francs to less than one. Inflation has climbed about 50 percent a year. The first categories affected starting in 1985 were the middle and upper classes, more or less satiated by the "oil is everything" period. Then, in January 1988, President Babangida indicated his desire to privatize failing state enterprises. Government employees were frightened. And in April 1988, the "drop of oil" [causing the dam to overflow] fell. The 3-percent hike in the price of oil—until then subsidized—triggered strikes and demonstrations, with unions and students in the streets. Universities were closed and thousands of bank and insurance employees were fired. Willy nilly—he had condemned in its time Buhari's repressive policy—General Babangida called out the troops and threw hundreds of "leaders" into prison.

Nonetheless, the policy of stringency has been good for the state accounts. Nigeria has managed to get its debt rescheduled and has been granted several hundred million dollars in new loans. The renewed upswing in the price of oil—an average of 18 dollars a barrel for the first half of 1989 compared to projections of 14 dollars in the federal budget—has, moreover, given a not inconsiderable second wind to Nigeria, which has begun to regain the confidence of its creditors and partners.

Austerity is now striking all Nigerians, and notably the poorest citizens, with full force. Between 1986 and 1988, the jump in the price of imports that followed the devaluation of the naira doubled the price of the basic foodstuff, manioc flour. The ban against importing foodstuffs such as rice, corn or wheat has made their cost on the black market exorbitant and sent the prices of locally grown products skyrocketing. Nigerian rice is five times more expensive now than it was in 1985.

So, at the end of May 1989, the students resumed protesting: in the south of the country, in Lagos and Benin City, then in the southeast, in the oil town of Port Harcourt. The demonstrations degenerated into riots. Pillaging took place in half a dozen towns between 22 May and 6 June, reaching a paroxysm at the end of May when army gunfire and tear gas killed dozens of people. However, as the repression did not really serve his interests, President Babangida indicated his willingness to limit the violence. On 6 June a hundred students imprisoned at the beginning of the disturbances were released on bail, and the following day the ban on all political activity issued the week before was lifted. At the same time, the government condemned the "criminal manipulation" of an anonymous tract portraying General Babangida as "the richest general in the world" with bank deposits of 400 million sterling pounds. The Nigerian regime described it as a "prevaricating tract" that in its opinion contributed greatly to unleashing the violence.

#### Stringency and Transition

Whatever its origin, the "tract affair" "compromised" the "politicians," and not the students or unemployed or other victims of the high cost of living who fell into step behind them. And Ibrahim Babangida has sworn to rid the country of these "politicians," or, more precisely, old hands from successive military and civilian regimes. He will do it by purely and simply barring them from the political arena, which he has promised to leave when power is transferred to civilians, scheduled to take place in 1992. To this end, he has drafted a "program of transition" to an American-style federal system.

Last 3 May, General Babangida signed the decree promulgating the constitution of the future Third Republic—civilian—of Nigeria, at the same time lifting the ban on political parties announced 31 December 1983 by his predecessor. But President Babangida has severely limited this authorization. Indeed, only two parties will ultimately be legalized and will be able to run for

election. Most importantly, all the "old" leaders and politicians on the Nigerian scene since 1960—including himself—will be excluded.

It is easy enough to imagine the possible game of straw men and the problems the regime will have in controlling backroom decisionmaking; it is equally easy to imagine the difficulties Nigerians will have in finding new men. However, Ibrahim Babangida seems convinced of his persuasive capabilities. In July of 1987, he launched a mobilization program christened MAMSER—mass mobilization for economic recovery, self-sufficiency and social justice—which aims to "reawaken and redirect the people." A whole series of organizations has been set up to promote "popular support for the government's economic and social development program." One of MAMSER's main objectives is "to abolish the misconduct of the past", and more specifically, the "dishonesty that resulted in economic disfunctioning." It is a complete program of socio-economic "recovery" addressed to the good people of Nigeria, in view of the return to a civilian regime.

In his careful preparation of the transition, General Babangida did not forget to include the military. When he promulgated the country's new Constitution, he created an Armed Forces Assembly responsible for passing the baton to the future regime, but most of all for psychologically preparing the return to the barracks. This will first be tested in 1990, when the state assemblies and civilian governors to whom the military governors will have to relinquish their places will be elected. General Babangida has promised that all the dates will be respected. In fact, he has already succeeded in straightening out Nigeria's economic situation. But the social cost of this effort is proving very heavy.

Ibrahim Babangida has shown himself to be a vigilant navigator. He canceled an important visit to France, a visit that could have marked the Nigerian giant's entry into the sphere of French cooperation. It is a visit during which he would have had the indulgent ear of President Mitterand, on the eve of the industrialized nations' summit held in Paris 14 July and whose agenda included the debt issue. For, today more than ever, the IMF's apt pupil needs all the outside support he can get to avoid missing his exit in 1992. It is a turning point that is all the more crucial in that one African in four is a Nigerian.

## Senegal

### \* Municipal Election Delay Criticized

34190296c Dakar SOPI in French 23 Jun 89 p 3

[Article by Cheikh Koureyssi Ba: "PS Can't Handle Municipal Elections"]

[Excerpts] The deputies of the "phantom" party—who by one of those paradoxes of Senegalese life are a majority in Soweto Square but a minority in the rest of the country—considered and adopted P.L. 14-89 in a

special session of the assembly yesterday, extending the terms of municipal and rural councillors.

As we know, new elections were to be held by 25 November, by which time the people of Senegal were to elect mayors, as well as rural council presidents and councillors. And it was in anticipation of that balloting that the decision was made to postpone the OCI [translation unknown] summit that Senegal was to host.

Thus the government's sudden change of direction, manifested in the convocation of the National Assembly to postpone the voting until next year, and thereby extend the terms of the mayors and councillors, seemed suspicious, at least to the PDS [Senegalese Democratic Party] deputies, who, of course, voted against the bill.

The first speaker to take the floor was Momar Lo, a PS [Socialist Party] deputy. Whether courageous or just suicidal, he expressed his approval, but subject to two conditions: effective involvement of all political parties in the revision of the electoral lists, and better geographic distribution of polling stations, especially in Linguere department. After angrily condemning subprefects who are "tampering with the commissions" by keeping out representatives of parties other than the PS, the PS deputy deplored the "commonly known fact" that the territorial administration does not use the funds put at its disposal to ensure the transparency of the election process as a whole. Who was saying "they are not all corrupt?"

Then the PDS group took the floor. In the words of the PDS president, P.L. 14-89 is "the epitome of what could be called a partisan bill or a statute of convenience." Challenging the veracity of the facts alleged, and noting in support of his position the "subtle changes in the explanations given this very morning," Ousmane Ngom said sarcastically: "Why not bring in the Senegal-Mauritania affair as long as we're here? Why not extend the deputies' terms indefinitely? Why not put the president in for life, since the voter registration lists will never be updated anyway?"

It should be noted that the reasons put forth for the need to postpone the municipal and rural elections have to do with the lack of any announcement to date on results of the nationwide census or the special revision of the voter registration lists scheduled for early 1990. In themselves these concerns are valid, given the fact that support to the municipal and rural councils is allocated according to the population of the locality; it is also undeniable that the revised registration lists might more accurately reflect the electorate.

But in the case at hand, the PS government is not fooling anyone, in or outside Senegal. In fact, according to Ousmane Ngom, "the intent is clear, and I am going to tell you the real motive behind it." The president of the PDS deputies' group went on to say that "the PS, since its congress of 4-5 March 1989, has only been serving in a custodial capacity. The PS is barren, not to say undergoing menopause. At last it embarks on a crusade to recapture the ground it has lost and the supporters

who have disappeared. And you think that in 1990 the PS will be reborn from its own ashes!" [passage omitted]

Deputy Laye Diop Diatta followed suit. "The municipal and rural councillors were 'elected' in 1984 under conditions with which we are all familiar (Editor's note: more than 76 percent of the voters abstained in response to an appeal by the PDS). The delay the government seeks may be detrimental to the people in many localities who are anxious to hold new council elections. Unfortunately, a mechanical majority is going to pass the bill. As Momar Lo himself said, once you pass this bill, the delay had better prove beneficial." In the spirit of Momar Lo's remarks, Laye Diop Diatta castigated the local authorities and urged them to make an effort to understand the civic significance of inscribing people on the registration list. "At that point, nobody is voting yet. One is merely a citizen when one registers, one is not yet a voter." And he urged Mr Andre Sonko to do everything possible to sensitize the local authorities to this fact.

According to Ablaye Faye, P.L. 14-89 "comes at a time when the people are tired of PS mayoral administration. And the people, in addition to rejecting this wicked piece of legislation, are questioning the nature of the ties between the governmental institutions and the PS. It is

understandable that a party may have problems or conflicting factions, but that these conflicts should be so intense that they prevent institutions (such as the national assembly a year ago) from functioning, that the executive and legislative branches of government should be dragged down with the PS—that is quite simply unacceptable. The people," Faye continued, "have done their best to support the PS mayors. Now they are tired." [passage omitted]

Andre Sonko rose to defend his bill (the Senegalese would have preferred P.L. 480!). Deploring the "political spin of the debate," he quickly came to the defense of the PS, saying it was obvious to him that "you (PDS deputies) have been elected, others (from the PS) have been elected, and the other side apparently has more votes." He then acknowledged there was truth in the accusations, but insisted that "not all the subprefects are dishonest" and claimed to understand very well the impatience of people who in the face of "increasing demands, and lacking a sense of civic responsibility, refuse to pay their taxes, unlike the peasants who pay the rural tax." Finally, the PS government's headlong flight into the future was sealed by the raised hands of the PS deputies. A nice image, one that recalls the desperate gesture of a drowning man before he goes down for the last time.

**END OF**

**FICHE**

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